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AUTHOR Burns, Ruth Ann; And Others
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ABSTRACT

This study on women in municipal management examines their personal agendas, the barriers they encounter as individual professionals, their career opportunities, the credentialing requirements they face, and the skills they perceive as necessary for their effective performance and career advancement. Data were collected through survey research, in-depth telephone interviews, and participant observations at national professional conventions of female and male city administrators. There are seven major parts to the report. Part I examines the occupational status and personal characteristics of women in municipal management. Part II looks at the numbers and location of female municipal managers across the country, discussing regional patterns or variations. The educational credentials of municipal managers are discussed in third part of the report. In part IV the report turns to career paths and future ambitions. Part V examines on-the-job responsibilities. Linkages to elected officials are explored in part VI. Part VII focuses on the barriers that either block or temporarily sidetrack women from being recruited, hired, and promoted in municipal management and the special support systems that have evolved to help them. (RM)

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WOMEN IN MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT: CHOICE, CHALLENGE AND CHANGE

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By
RUTH ANN BURNS
with
Lora L. Fong and Susan Fuhrman

1980

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Women in Public Service is a three-volume report containing the results of research conducted in 1978-79 by the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) under a grant from the Office of Policy Development and Research of the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Volume I, "Women in Municipal Management: Choice, Challenge and Change," reports on CAWP's research about the status of women serving as municipal administrators across the country. It begins to identify and document the routes of opportunity, credentialing requirements, necessary skills, barriers, and support systems related to the recruitment, hiring and promotion of women as municipal managers. It also examines the relationship between women elective and women administrative officials serving in the same communities.

Volume II, "Women's Organizations in the Public Service: Toward Agenda Setting," and Volume III, "Changing the Opportunity Structure for Women in the Public Sector," are available separately.

CAWP is a research, educational and public service center which was established in 1971 as a unit of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers—The State University of New Jersey. The Center designs and sponsors a variety of programs aimed at developing and disseminating knowledge about women's participation in politics and government and at encouraging women's full and effective involvement in public life in the United States.

Further inquiries should be addressed to:

Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP)
Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers—The State University
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
(201) 828-2210 (201) 932-9384

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Two professional organizations deserve recognition for allowing project staff to attend their national meetings. The International City Management Association and the American Society for Public Administration extended a cooperative hand while the research was underway.

In addition to coding, Adrienne Cohen, Elizabeth Herbert, Barbara Hill and Maureen Tighe stuffed and stamped envelopes as each wave of the survey questionnaire was mailed. Susan Fuhrman was responsible for the development of the codebooks and assisted in setting up the data analysis. Lora Fong was an invaluable assistant in every phase of the project--from supervising coding to data analysis to final editing of the report. Special thanks are also due to Nancy Hamilton for doing an excellent job of typing this report.

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Ruth Ann Burns
Project Director

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"I made up my mind to do more than anybody. To learn more, to be more valuable, to take on more of the load. To become indispensable so to speak. I want to be the best, the fastest, work the hardest. But the other thing I did was to find the movers and the shakers, the people who really make things happen and find out what their style is and become close to them."

Female Department Head of a major California city

"The power structure, the old boys network, reminds me of a box of tinker toys. You put them all together with the little plugs and you have lots of connections, long and short from the governor to legislators, to the mayor right on down to the janitor. It is very effective."

Female Chief Administrative Officer in Mississippi

"Sure women work harder and it creates resentment. Your staff has to work harder to support you and they don't like it. Your peers resent it because they are getting shown up and your boss begins to resent it because you're not getting along with people. That doesn't mean you can't take it home and work on it if it is important to you. But you don't tell anybody about it. It is like getting all A's in school."

Female Department Head in Texas

"I had a luncheon one day where all the men were wearing school ties. I said, before we say anything, I want a reading on these ties because I want to know who I'm with. Are you Harvard, are you little red school house? It matters, because it will be reflected in your attitude. You're wearing that tie for a reason and I want to know what it means. They told me and it got the meeting off at a very comfortable level. The fact that I would admit that I was vulnerable, that I didn't know and that I felt threatened by it."

Female District Manager in New York

"By all means, more women should get involved. I like what I'm in and want to go on. I could have gray hair and wrinkles and still work here because I have a mind, I have abilities. Where in a lot of private businesses, if you don't have your face lifted every year, you're no longer part of the sales management training team."

Female Manager from the Northeast

"As far as women are concerned, public administration is a very good area at this time because of the interest of women in general in elective office. As the number of women in elective office grows, there's got to be a more sympathetic attitude towards the appointment of women as managers, as employed managers. And anyone who is willing to develop her skills to the point where she can make a significant contribution is looking at a field which is crying for those skills today. What I've seen and what I've heard of the past, there's been a steady trend towards professionalization in the department, particularly the managers. Each manager who leaves is replaced by someone with a better background, more skills.

Male Finance Officer from Massachusetts

Our study of women in urban government focuses attention for the first time on women working in municipal management. It examines their personal agendas, the barriers they encounter as individual professionals, their career opportunities, the credentialing requirements they face, and the skills they perceive as necessary for their effective performance and career advancement.

Through a triple-phased research design we combined survey research, in-depth telephone interviews, and participant observations at national professional conventions of female and male city administrators. The resulting study maps the current status of women in city management careers. It presents a comparison between females and males which suggests gender specific barriers and support systems that both hinder women from reaching the manager's post and uniquely bolster the growing

number of pioneering women who say, "yes, I can."

Current projections indicate that by 1985 one in seven public sector jobs will be held by state or local employees. Given these figures as well as changing mores that surround women's advancement outside the home, we posed the question: where do women stand in the growing municipal management field? The Civil Rights Act, the spadework of the women's movement, presidential executive orders, equal opportunity and affirmative action guidelines--all have tilled the nation for change in the last two decades. Yet while national law, policies, and social movements press for equal opportunity, they cannot legislate equal access. Nor can they mandate that women who have been the victims of discrimination in the past will suddenly be able to take advantage of broadening opportunities as they unfold in the present.

The beliefs, attitudes, and assumptions that municipal administrators--both female and male--hold about themselves and each other translate into a willingness or unwillingness to accept change.

Our composite profile of women in municipal management shows a remarkable diversity of background characteristics. Professional paths include a career conversion route where secretarial skills and experiences are propelled from a clerk-treasurer role to a functional managerial role that becomes a "hidden" level of management. A political route exists that translates technical expertise into administrative capacity in city government. And an educational route moves a pool of young women from professional advanced degree programs into job channels that lead to city management careers.

What our women administrators have in common--regardless of their marital, geographic, or educational differences--is the experience of working within both formal and informal structures populated almost entirely by men. Styles of

management, styles of communication, and styles of behavior in city management grow out of a male-oriented experience, culture and career field. The aspirations, the rules of the game, and the structure are dominated by male managers.

Research Objectives

This study of women in municipal management had two primary objectives:

1. *To begin identifying the barriers, routes of opportunity, credentialing requirements, necessary skills, and support systems related to the recruitment, hiring, and promotion of women as municipal managers in urban government.*

2. *To discover whether the presence or absence of women in municipal management is related to the presence or absence of women elected officials in the same community; what roles, if any, women elected officials play as mentors in the recruitment, hiring, and promotion of women in municipal management in their communities; what roles, if any, women in municipal management play in the political careers of women elected officials in their communities.*

Organization Summary

In constructing the profile of women in municipal management, comparisons are made throughout the report with male managers. The male sample was drawn from the same job categories as the female sample, controlling for population and form of government. In the summary that follows, female and male managers are compared according to occupational titles, personal characteristics (e.g. age, marital status), regional distribution, educational background, recruitment to public service, career path, future ambitions, willingness to relocate, staff responsibilities, perceptions of power, relationship to elected officials and their perceptions of barriers to women's advancement in the field.

PART I of this study raises the questions of who the women are in municipal management, what is their occupational status, and what are their personal

characteristics? Among our respondents, female managers are most likely to be found at the assistant level and at the finance officer level, representing both the entrance of young women into the profession and the concentration of older women in more traditional job roles that were once primarily bookkeeping tasks. Among our male respondents, male managers were most likely to be found at the assistant level and at the chief administrative officer/city manager level representing both entry level positions and top managerial posts. Male managers are younger and enter public service jobs at an earlier age than their female colleagues. Across job categories, gender differences in marital status occurs. Female managers are less likely to be married and more likely to be divorced, single, or separated than their male counterparts.

In PART II we sought the numbers and location of female municipal managers across the country, seeking regional patterns or variations. A community profile was constructed using community population distribution, community character, and form of government. Women do not comprise a significant portion of the total municipal management team in any state or section of the nation. Women held an average of 10.5 percent of the total number of municipal management positions nationally in 1979. Female managers are equally dispersed throughout the four regions of the nation and women are no more likely than men to serve in small towns of 9,000 population and under. The majority of female and male managers responding to our survey describe their towns as growing in population, moderate to conservative in community character, and governed under the council/manager form of government.

PART III of the study raises these questions: What educational credentials and skills are necessary for women to pursue careers in municipal management? Do female and male managers differ in their educational backgrounds, or are they equally prepared through formal education to pursue city management careers? Male managers

report having more formal educational backgrounds and advanced training than their female counterparts. Yet, while males have better educational credentials than females across job categories, the sharp disparity in female and male educational levels becomes minimal at the entry and middle management levels. Younger entrants into municipal management have college degrees, regardless of sex. We found that internships were a key means of entry into public service jobs, and that skill-building and informational workshops are a major continuing education vehicle among women and men in municipal management.

In PART IV we turn to career paths and future ambitions. We ask: What are the routes to municipal management that women and men have followed? Are their career paths similar or do they differ? What career plans for the future do women and men in municipal management have? Among our respondents, initial recruitment into a public service career takes place through an informal personal network rather than through professional ties, employment services, or talent banks. Educational institutions also play an important role in the initial career decision to enter the public sector. Once employed in a public sector job, female managers rely heavily on promotional opportunities and wait for the system to recognize their talent and ability to advance them on their career ladders while male managers depend on a variety of job hunting techniques. The clerk/treasurer/registrar position stands out as a managerial career stop across all occupational categories for female managers, while male managers rise predominantly from the ranks of assistant regardless of present occupational title. Constructing a salary profile, we found that male managers earn more money than their female counterparts regardless of job category.

On the issue of relocation as a component of career advancement, female municipal managers are more geographically immobile than their male counterparts. Overall,

male managers are much more willing to relocate than their female counterparts. Age is a critical variable on the issue of relocation. The younger the female manager, the more likely she is to feel positively toward relocation. Marriage and the presence of children also negatively affect a female manager's willingness to relocate.

In PART V we examine on-the-job responsibilities, including the extent and dimensions of staff supervision, self-perceptions of efficacy and personal power, and perceived differences in management styles between female and male managers. Male managers report supervising larger staffs than their female counterparts. Women in municipal management are much more likely to manage an all-female staff than their male colleagues. Female managers interviewed by telephone perceive their male colleagues as territorial, more willing to take risks, more technically oriented, better able to delegate to subordinates, and more likely to tinker in the day-to-day workings of a specific department. Male managers interviewed by telephone perceive female managers as "participatory managers," tactful and diplomatic in soothing tense situations, more empathetic to employees, attentive to small details, and less able to delegate to subordinates. The majority of female and male managers report making recommendations to their governing bodies, believe that their recommendations are followed most of the time, and if their recommendation is initially rejected, at least half the time it is eventually accepted by their governing body.

In PART VI we explore linkages to elected officials. We investigate the extent to which political parties are involved in the governmental process, the extent to which the politician does or does not influence the administrative process, and what roles women elected officials play as mentors in the recruitment, hiring, and promotion of managerial women.

Both female and male managers rate political parties as unimportant to governmental policymaking, personnel decisions, and their own career paths. Both

female and male municipal managers rank administrators rather than elected officials as having primary responsibility over a variety of governmental functions from general administration to budget making. More than three-quarters of female elected respondents express positive sentiments toward the feminist movement and its major goals. An overwhelming majority of elected women respondents (87%) say they have tried to get women appointed to governmental boards and commissions. Elected female respondents are more likely to initiate activity to appoint women to boards and commissions than they are to engage in activities to employ women in government. Supportive networks are beginning to link professional women in public service. One-third of elected women respondents report that a "new girls' network" exists in their towns.

In PART VII we focus on the barriers that either block or temporarily sidetrack women from being recruited, hired, and promoted in municipal management and the special support systems that have evolved to help them. Female municipal managers rate their communities' receptivity to professional women in government lower than their male colleagues and they consider the employment of women in the public sector to be a more important issue than most of their male counterparts. Among both sexes, barriers to hiring, recruitment, and promotion are cited as serious problems facing women seeking careers in public management. Overall, male managers are the least likely group to perceive barriers. Male managers name insufficient numbers of women in the managerial labor pool, lack of training and/or educational qualifications, and individual personality traits as the top three barriers women managers face. All three of these barriers place the blame for women's lack of status in municipal management on the woman herself, not on the system. In contrast, women name individual personality traits, discrimination by employers, and stereotypes about women's role in society as the top three barriers they perceive. Women in municipal

management actively join professional organizations, hold leadership roles, and attend meetings almost as frequently as men do. In addition, female managers are forging new links through professional women's groups and organizations, and a small percentage have become active in women's caucuses within professional organizations.

An Information Gap

A unique characteristic of municipal government is that there is so much of it. When an attempt is made to systematically survey the critical theories and research in the field of women in municipal management, two facts emerge. Regardless of the growing importance of local government and the sheer numbers of people that are employed at the municipal level, there is a relative lack of research energy and political science rigor applied to questions surrounding women's status in urban management today.

Secondly, this critical information gap is all the more striking in light of the rapidly expanding body of literature probing the status of women in elective political office and in the private corporate sphere. The few studies which have addressed women's status in the public sector tend to take an all-inclusive look at women on federal, state and/or local government payrolls.[1] Yet, as highlighted in a study done by Lee Sigelman, although the numbers of women in government employment are in proportion to their share of the working age population, women who work in the public sector, much like those in the private sector, are more likely to hold clerical or secretarial positions and less likely to hold professional track managerial positions.[2] Clearly, attention must be focused on those women holding public sector management jobs. Yet, the status of women in public management remains under-documented, with research and analysis only beginning to probe beneath surface statistics. As part of this need for more focused study, it is important to discover what similarities

and differences occur between federal, state and local management, and to see whether demands and challenges of public and private sectors on women are the same. The findings of this study apply only to women in municipal management. Whether these women bear a resemblance to others in differing levels of public management remains to be seen.

Two Theoretical Models

This study is primarily descriptive in nature as it focuses attention on a population previously ignored. The body of theory being developed in this area is scant. Although two theoretical models are beginning to emerge in the literature of women in elective office and corporate management, our study was not designed with either of these models in mind. However, many of the findings in this study lend support to both of the models that are developing.

In the research of women managers in the private sector and women in political life, two theoretical models are unfolding: a psychological model with emphasis on an individual's personal characteristics and a structural model with emphasis on organizational constraints.

The psychological model builds its argument from sex role socialization literature that describes women as person-oriented, valuing social skills, emotional, intuitive, dependent, noncompetitive and trusting. Inversely, males are described as competitive, aggressive, dominant, rational and task-oriented. Barriers to women's advancement in management as explained by this model are internal and they require the female manager to compensate for growing up female through special development programs and self-improvement techniques. The burden for change falls on the woman with the assumption being that she model herself after a male managerial image. Margaret Hennig and Anne Jardim in the *Managerial Woman*[3] argue from this theoretical perspective.

They maintain that women develop different management styles from men in their responses to day-to-day administrative situations stemming from early socialization patterns of growing up female or male. Hennig and Jardim argue that women need to learn the game and mirror the male model of management to succeed. And that means becoming comfortable with conflict rather than mediation, vulnerability rather than safety, risk rather than security, and aggressiveness rather than passiveness.

The structural model focuses not on the individual, but on the system. The responsibility for people's behavior at work and their fate within the organization depends on the structure of the system. The external variable of situation replaces the internal variable of sex role. Rosabeth Kanter's *Men and Women of the Corporation*[4] posits this theory, maintaining that jobs "create" people. In other words, organizations rather than gender make workers into who they are. In this model, the structural constraints of limited numbers, limited access to power, and limited opportunity keep women from assuming key management positions. Distributing power more broadly, balancing numbers, and enhancing opportunities in this model depends on large-scale system changes.

Women in Elective Office

Turning to the literature on women in elective office, two recent books rely on sex-role socialization to explain women's political behavior. A third presents the social structure model as the answer to why more women don't run for elective office. Marianne Githens and Jewel Prestage in *A Portrait of Marginality*[5] draw on a collection of studies and essays to provide a starting block for systematic research on women's role in the political process. Their theory of marginality suggests that political women are caught between two forces, one female and the other political. These two forces often conflict on values, identities and lifestyles.

The marginality of women in politics links back to socialization and attitudinal obstacles.

Rita Mae Kelly and Mary A. Boutilier in *The Making of Political Women: A Study of Socialization and Role Conflict*[6] provide a typology of the "private woman," the "public woman," and the "political woman." They rely on the traditional view of woman relegated to the private, nonpolitical home environment to generalize about age-old female/male roles.

Sex Roles in the State House[7] by Irene Diamond rejects sex roles as the central variable to explaining women's political ambitions and asserts structural and systemic variables such as patterns of recruitment and opportunities to run. Male hostility to women holding high elected office, the slim chance of women being nominated to winning seats, and the small number of role models that women can pattern their political careers from, make it a more rational choice for women to direct their political energy elsewhere.

A Framework for Inquiry

Given the two theoretical models that emerge from the corporate and political world concerning the utilization of women in leadership positions, the framework is in place to investigate similar relationships and explore what barriers exist for women in municipal management. Are there different characteristics and orientations among women and men in municipal management positions? Do women enter municipal management positions from employment pools that are identifiably different than men? How are career ambitions affected by such variables as age, family, marital status and gender? Are women's qualifications for management positions filtered through outdated stereotyped images? Do women who are excluded from the informal socialization occurring in male networks misunderstand the informal demands and consequences of being a municipal manager?

The barriers uncovered in PART VII of this study are both internal and external, reflecting both theories of individual change and system change. There is evidence that women managers recognize the positive traits they experience as a result of being born female, with those traits identified with being a good manager. For example, feminine responsiveness, being trained in human relationships, insight into organization and maintenance of a social unit, management through persuasion and participation--all of these traits apply to good managers. It appears that many women managers in our sample cannot blindly assume the male leadership model without also experiencing the double bind. That is, if a woman manager displays the culturally defined traits of a woman, she is rejected as an acceptable manager, yet if she acts according to the male defined role of a leader, she is condemned as being "unfeminine."

In PART VI and VII of the study, the ideas of networking and mentoring may result in structural changes that could affect the dynamic of the work environment. A situation where there is a token woman administrator places considerable social-psychological pressure on the lone female involved. With the rapid increase of women at the entry level of management and the changing expectations of women regarding their future in municipal management, fledgling women's networks can be expected to grow in the future and mentoring could extend the professional expertise and political savvy of the women who have made it to younger administrative hopefuls. In addition, age appears as an important variable in the profile that follows. Many older female managers started their careers in clerical or secretarial positions. This provides them with a much different experience from that of the young female MBA's or MPA's now entering municipal management positions across the nation.

Finally, the private role of managerial women is highlighted in PART IV,

Career Paths and Ambitions of Municipal Managers. It appears that the managerial role for women imposes a more demanding schedule on the personal lives of women than of men. The findings on marriage, number or children and willingness to relocate show sharp differences between female and male managers.

Our research questions aim to provide answers which monitor progress, detect barriers, and suggest strategies and programs that facilitate broadening the leadership ranks in municipal management. The answers and insights offered by the women and men currently in the city management field are both frustrating and hopeful--frustrating in the sense that all change is painfully won and incrementally slow; hopeful in the sense that breakthroughs are real, the rewards gratifying. Overall, systematic change is slow, and yet the individual stories collected for this study reflect a changing opportunity structure for women in municipal management.

SAMPLING AND METHODOLOGY

To meet the study's objectives, three groups of individuals were surveyed:

1. Women in Municipal Management*
2. Men in Municipal Management*
3. Women elected officials serving in the same communities as a female or a male manager in the survey

Sampling

The first task was to identify the universe of officeholders, female and male, from which to draw our sample. It was readily discovered that no single organization (public or professional) keeps complete nationwide statistics on municipal management positions, especially such positions as assistant department head and newer departmental categories such as Social Services and Community Affairs. The Census of Governments is of limited value as a monitoring and tracking source for women in municipal management. The Census is only published every ten years. It also condenses its data into very broad categories, giving only total figures for local public administration positions rather than breakdowns by specific occupational areas. Several organizations were contacted to determine the number of officeholders by job category.** No national municipal or public administration

*Throughout this report "municipal manager" and "manager" refers to the generic category composed of the following job categories: Chief Administrative Officer/City Manager, Finance Officer, Clerk/Treasurer/Registrar, Assistant, and Department Head. The notation "CAO/CM" refers to the specific job category of Chief Administrative Officer/City Manager.

**International City Management Association, Municipal Finance Officers Association, National Academy of Public Administration, National Association of Government Employees, National Association of Professional Administration, National Association of Towns and Township Officials, National Center for Public Service Internship, National League of Cities, American Institute of Planners, Bureau of the Census, Business and Professional Women's Foundation Library, National Institute of Public Management.

organization tracks nationwide statistics across time. Even more surprising and distressing is the fact that the professional associations (managers, clerks, etc.) keep records only of their own memberships and not of the total population in these job categories. Thus they cannot analyze their success in membership because they cannot determine their potential market. Many professional organizations do not have the research capacity, nor is it presently worth their while to invest staff time to compile national statistics. State to state variation in municipal data reporting makes national compilations a difficult task.

Similarly it is impossible to measure accurately the progress in employment of women, Blacks, Hispanics and other minorities without the knowledge of the total pool. For example, a 1974 EEO* survey indicating a total of 73,185 persons in local government (of which women were 35.5% and minorities were 19.5%) presents difficulties. Data are not gathered consistently over time. Different organizations, or even the same organization at different time periods, collect data in varying categories of job type. There are also no consistent standards for reporting. Some surveys rely on self-reporting whereas others use informants at state or county levels.

Because of these difficulties in securing comprehensive and accurate statistics, we developed our own pool of officeholders for sampling purposes. Using ICMA's 1978 Municipal Year Book, we mailed questionnaires to all the women in the following categories:

1. Women Chief Administrative Officers/City Managers (CAO/CM's) (154)
2. Women Finance Officers in cities with a population of over 10,000 (333)
3. Women Public Works Directors (24)

*EEO, Status of Minorities and Women in State and Local Government

By adding up the numbers of persons listed in that yearbook within each category, it was determined that these women represented four percent of all chief administrative officers, 15 percent of all finance officers in cities with a population over 10,000, and five percent of all public works directors.

The women chief administrative officers and finance officers fall into the following categories:

Female Chief Administrative Officers/City Managers

- 14 Chief Administrative Officers in cities over 25,000 with Mayor/Council form of government
- 4 City Managers in cities over 25,000 with Council/Manager form of government
- 12 Chief Administrative Officers in cities between 10,000 and 25,000 with Mayor/Council form of government
- 10 City Managers in cities between 10,000 and 25,000 with Council/Manager form of government
- 40 City Managers in cities under 10,000 with Council/Manager form of government
- 74 Chief Administrative Officers in cities under 10,000 with Mayor/Council form of government

Female Finance Officers in Cities Over 10,000 Population

- 175 Finance Officers in cities between 10,000 and 25,000 with Mayor/Council form of government
- 95 Finance Officers in cities between 10,000 and 25,000 with Council/Manager form of government
- 30 Finance Officers in cities over 25,000 with Council/Manager form of government
- 33 Finance Officers in cities over 25,000 with Mayor/Council form of government

We tapped assistants (assistant managers, department heads and assistant department heads, administrative assistants, analysts) by surveying all females listed in the 1976-77 ICMA Directory of Assistants. Three hundred eighteen female

assistants received the survey. They may be placed into the following categories and make up 16 percent of all assistants listed by ICMA:

Female Assistants

- 4 Assistants in cities under 10,000 with Mayor/Council form of government
- 72 Assistants in cities under 10,000 with Council/Manager form of government
- 11 Assistants in cities between 10,000 and 25,000 with Mayor/Council form of government
- 54 Assistants in cities between 10,000 and 25,000 with Council/Manager form of government
- 6 Assistants in cities over 25,000 with Mayor/Council form of government
- 171 Assistants in cities over 25,000 with Mayor/Council form of government

Finally, questionnaires were sent to 52 female Department Heads in New York, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco--all classified as major cities. These Department Heads, as well as those identified by the assistants' directory were included in our analysis of Department Heads.

In order to sample the males in the same categories of Chief Administrative Officer, Finance Director, Public Works Director and Assistant, and, at the same time, control for population and form of government, the total number of officeholders in each category was determined from the Municipal Year Book and ICMA Directory of Assistants. For each job category a sampling interval was determined by dividing the total number by the number of women. For example, 3,771 (the total number of CAO/CM's) was divided by 154 (the total nubmer of women CAO/CM's) to get a sampling interval of 24. Using a table of random numbers to make a random start, each 24th CAO/CM was chosen within each of the six CAO/CM

categories of population and government type.* If the 24th case was a woman, the next case was selected. As each category filled up with the same number of men as women, it was eliminated from the sampling process (e.g. after the fourth city manager in a city over 25,000 with a Council/Manager form of government was selected, the category was considered filled). If the 24th case then fell in that category, the next case in an unfilled category was chosen. Males were selected in this manner for every job category except Department Heads in major cities.

The elected women officeholders in our sample (872) were selected by choosing all female mayors and council members in each community represented by a sampled female and/or male municipal manager. The names and offices for these women were obtained from the National Information Bank on Women in Public Office at the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) and from Women in Public Office: A Biographical Directory and Statistical Analysis (Metuchen, N. J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1978), compiled and edited by CAWP.

*A similar sampling formula was applied to each job category included in the study. The following grid is an example of the CAO/CM sampling technique.

Sampling Technique for Female CAO/CM

	Under 10,000 Population	10,000-25,000 Population	Over 25,000 Population
Council/Manager Government	40 CMs	10 CMs	4 CMs
Mayor/Council Government	74 CAOs	12 CAOs	14 CAOs

Some questionnaires in the sampled populations were returned because women and men were no longer in targeted positions, left public service employment, or were incorrectly gender identified. Adjusted sample sizes are: 774 female municipal managers, 724 male municipal managers, and 838 female elected officials.

Methodology

A. Mail Survey

Each sampled individual received a survey questionnaire booklet which was introduced by a letter explaining CAWP and the nature of this project. (See attached questionnaires in Appendix A). The three different questionnaires--for female managers, male managers, and elected women--all covered certain common areas:

1. Political experience and activity
2. Community characteristics: form of government, distribution of power, importance of parties, political climate, growth
3. Barriers to women in (a) recruiting/hiring, (b) promotion, (c) effectiveness
4. Personal and family background
5. Employment history

The female and male municipal management questionnaires also explored the following areas:

1. Educational background
2. Non-degree courses/workshops
3. Organizational memberships and activities
4. Work responsibilities
5. Future career goals
6. Attitudes and activities related to the employment of women in government

The female managers and the elected women, but not the male managers, were asked about their job and social contacts and requested to suggest programs which could assist in increasing the numbers of women and minorities in public service.

All three questionnaires were designed to be completed in 30 minutes, and were composed of a mix of closed and open-ended questions.

Response Rate

TABLE A. SURVEY RESPONSE

Survey Group	Number Surveyed (A)	Managers Reporting No.	Managers Reporting % of (A)
Female Municipal Managers	774	373	48.19
Male Municipal Managers	724	217	29.97
Female Elected Governing Officials	838	388	46.30

Female and male municipal managers and female elected officials responding to our survey come from all areas of the country. The following Table B shows the response rate for all three survey samples by region.

TABLE B. REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS[8]

Region	Municipal Managers F %	Municipal Managers M %	Elected Officials F %
East	20	20	28
Central	24	29	28
Southern	30	24	19
Mountain/Pacific	27	27	25
Totals	(373)	(217)	(388)

There was a slightly greater proportion of the response rate from the women managers in the Southern region, while men managers had a slightly greater proportion of the response rate in the Central region. There does not, however, appear to be any significant regional differences in response between females and males. The greatest proportion of the response rate for elected women was in the Eastern and Central regions.

TABLE C. NATIONWIDE REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE MUNICIPAL MANAGERS AND FEMALE RESPONDENTS

Region	Municipal Managers Nationwide	Municipal Manager Respondents
	F %	F %
East	25	20
Central	26	24
South	30	30
Mountain/Pacific	18	27
Total	(1,597)	(373)

Our response rate for female municipal managers closely parallels the national regional distribution for female administrators as Table C illustrates above in the Central and Southern regions. There is a greater proportion of female respondents in the Mountain/Pacific region and females in the Eastern region were slightly less likely to respond to our survey.

B. Telephone Interviews

Recognizing the difficulty of obtaining adequate response rates to a mailed questionnaire and knowing that we wanted to obtain more in-depth descriptive data than a survey could provide, we decided to conduct follow-up telephone interviews with selected respondents. These interviews aimed to explore some of the questions about recruitment, barriers and political and administrative relationships in greater detail. (See attached telephone interview schedule in Appendix B.) The objectives for the follow-up telephone interviews were five-fold:

1. To probe targeted respondents for additional information to their open-ended responses to questions on the mailed questionnaire
2. To get interesting anecdotal information to supplement or illustrate survey research findings
3. To discover what kinds of workshops or seminars municipal managers need and find useful

4. To obtain information in certain areas not easily probed in a survey questionnaire such as the concept of political culture, mobility patterns, and family strains

5. To gain a greater understanding of the problems municipal managers face in order to assist us in developing a set of program options

Approximately 80 municipal managers (50 women and 30 men) were targeted as potential interviewees from among those who responded to our mailed survey (373 females and 217 males). They were targeted according to the following criteria:

1. Age, representing a range from the youngest professionals in our sample through middle age and extending to respondents up to 65 years of age

2. Geographic diversity, representing a mix of regions and states across the country

3. Attitudes toward women in municipal management (e.g. those who desire to see change and those who do not see change as a priority goal)

4. Range of job experiences in municipal management from city manager to assistant city manager, to finance officer, to department head, to public works director

5. Answers to open-ended questions on the female and male manager surveys: respondents who had thoughtful answers to these questions were tapped in the hopes that they would be articulate and cooperative in a telephone interview

The decision was made to interview more women than men in order to gain a clearer picture of female career paths and experiences. The 30 targeted males provided the gender comparisons called for in this study. Our research plan called for conducting in-depth telephone interviews with 10 percent of those who responded to our mailed survey. Sixty in-depth interviews were conducted. Of these interviews, 37 were conducted with female respondents and 23 were conducted with male respondents. The taped telephone interviews ranged in length from 35 minutes to 60 minutes, with the average interview lasting approximately 42 minutes.

Answers to the questionnaire and responses to the telephone interview schedule were coded and analyzed by computer. The data we report in the following sections are both qualitative and quantitative.

PART I: WHO ARE THE WOMEN IN MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Key Findings

1. A hidden level of de facto management exists, composed primarily of female clerk/treasurer/registrars in small towns around the nation who function in an administrative capacity yet fail to count themselves among the ranks of CAO/CM.

2. Among our respondents, female managers are most likely to be found at the assistant level (37%) and at the finance officer level (25%) representing both the entrance of young women into the profession and the concentration of older women in more traditional job roles that were once primarily bookkeeping tasks.

3. Among our respondents, male managers are most likely to be found at the assistant level (43%) and at the chief administrative officer/city manager level (27%) representing both entry level positions and top managerial posts.

4. Male administrators are younger (average age 37.4 years) than their female counterparts (average age 42.2 years), and they enter public service jobs at an earlier age than their female colleagues. Average entry age for male managers is 27 compared with the female average age of 30.

5. The two youngest age groups in municipal management, regardless of gender, are comprised of people serving in the capacity of assistant and department head:

   71% of female and 81% of male assistants are 39 years of age an under
   69% of female and 65% of male department heads are 39 years of age and under

6. Male managers are more likely to be married and less likely to be divorced, single or separated than women managers:

   87% of male managers are married compared with 61% of female managers
   32% of female managers are divorced, separated or single compared with only 13% of male managers
   7% of female managers are widowed compared with no men who report themselves as widowers

7. Gender differences in marital status occur across job categories, for example:

   52% of female department heads are divorced, separated or single compared with only 6% of male department heads
   26% of female finance officers are divorced, separated or single compared with 3% of male finance officers
   37% of female assistants are divorced, separated or single compared with 24% of male assistants

PART I: WHO ARE THE WOMEN IN MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

What Jobs Do They Hold?

Starting from the premise that women are greatly underrepresented in the municipal management field, a primary concern of this study was to find out who are the women and what is their occupational status. In charting an occupational distribution for female and male managers, we posed the questions: What types of positions do female managers hold? Do their jobs differ in rank and importance from those of their male colleagues? In analyzing personal characteristics of managers, age, marital status, and number of children were examined.

The female and male municipal management questionnaires were mailed to ICMA identified chief administrative officer/city managers, finance officers, department heads, public works directors and assistants. In some cases, the ICMA Municipal Year Book would have multiple listings when a municipal official performed a variety of functions in a city without a chief administrative officer. For example, a city clerk could be listed three times under categories for clerk, finance officer and chief administrative officer for the town. Often female clerks responding to the survey question on occupational title would identify themselves as city clerk, rather than call themselves managers or chief administrative officers. Table 1.1 reflects categorizing clerk/treasurer/registrar as a separate occupational title to highlight the number of women and men who serve within a "hidden level of management."

These clerks and clerk/treasurers, sometimes self-identified as registrars or secretaries, are often functioning in an administrative capacity, despite the fact that they may not recognize or be recognized by their governing bodies as serving in managerial roles. The city clerk, traditionally a woman, is often the

lone administrator in many small towns and cities across the country. She retains an outdated title describing a job that used to be primarily secretarial in nature--preparing agendas and handling correspondence and town documents for the council. The rapid growth in local services, state and federal grant and aid programs, and the changing intergovernmental demands placed on municipalities, have converted the job of city clerk into a managerial occupation. This "hidden level of management" will receive attention in Part V of this report. In order to later analyze career patterns and background characteristics separately for clerks/treasurers/registrars, we are reporting job titles in the following table as respondents list them on their questionnaires.

TABLE 1.1: OCCUPATIONAL TITLES OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Occupational Title	Municipal Managers	
	F	M
	%	%
CAO/CM	8	27
Finance Officer	25	17
Clerk/Treasurer/Registrar	16	5
*Assistant	37	43
Department Head	14	8
Total	(373)	(217)

F = Female Managers M = Male Managers

Table 1.1 presents occupational titles of female and male municipal managers. Sixteen percent of female respondents fall into the self-identified clerk/treasurer/registrar category compared with only five percent of male managers who report this

*Includes Assistant CAO/CM, Assistant to the City Manager, Deputy Department Head and Finance Officers, Administrative Assistants, Interns and Analysts, Assistants serving at the county level and Assistant Clerks.

job title. The largest single group of female respondents are assistants, a job category usually considered to be an entry level position in municipal management and representing the youngest age group in our survey. The second largest group of female respondents are finance officers, the oldest age category for women and men in our study and traditionally one of the first municipal occupations to be accessible to women. The bookkeeping functions originally associated with the finance officer position, opened opportunities for women in the municipal management field. An occupational distribution for women reflects the influx of young women into the profession at the assistant level and the concentration of females in the finance officer category, a remnant of the municipal opportunity structure of past decades.

In contrast to the females, the males who responded to our questionnaire are more likely to identify themselves as chief administrative officers or city or town managers, and less likely to be finance officers or department heads. There is a relatively large number of male chief administrative officers, 27 percent, compared with eight percent of female respondents. The predominance of male city managers in the study does not reflect the dominance of male chief administrative officers in the population, since our sampling was controlled to draw the same number of female and male managers. It may be that some male clerks perceive themselves as chief administrative officers while females defer from the more powerful title and simply label themselves "clerks." Or, the relative overrepresentation of male chief administrative officers may indicate a pattern where more professional males responded to a cooperative project involving their professional association (ICMA), a fact which was noted on the questionnaire's cover letter. For this reason, the males may be a less diverse group than the female respondents. It is important to keep this possibility in mind when males are compared with females throughout this report.

Table 1.2 indicates the occupational identifications within the largest single group of female respondents, the assistants. Within this group, women report the following job titles:

TABLE 1.2: OCCUPATIONAL TITLES OF FEMALE ASSISTANT MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Occupational Title	F %
Administrative Assistant	44
Assistant to the City Manager	23
Assistant CAO/CM	12
Analyst	9
Planner	(3)
Deputy or Assistant Finance Officer	(3)
Deputy or Assistant Department Head	(3)
Deputy or Assistant County Administrator	(3)
Deputy or Assistant City or Town Clerk	(3)
Intern	(3)
Total	(137)

Overwhelmingly female assistants are performing support staff functions serving as administrative assistants (44%). The second largest category is assistants to city managers, a position high in the administrative hierarchy and more directly on the career path to a city manager position.

What Are Their Personal Characteristics?

No dominant image alone accurately describes the personal characteristics of women in our sample. Our respondents are overwhelmingly white, but they range in age from 22 to 74 (mean age = 42), exhibit a variety of marital patterns and vary considerably in the number of children they have. Tables 1.3 and 1.4 summarize the

personal characteristics of female and male respondents, indicating percentage distributions for race, age, marital status and number of children.

TABLE 1.3: PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF FEMALE MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Race	F %	Age	F %	Marital Status	F %	No. of Children	F %
White	95	20-29	19	Married	61	None	32
Black	3	30-39	26	Divorced/Separated	16	One	18
Hispanic	(8)	40-49	21	Single	16	Two or Three	37
Other	(1)	50-59	26	Widowed	7	Four or Five	11
		60 & over	8			Six & over	(7)
Total	(370)	Total	(369)	Total	(371)	Total	(360)

TABLE 1.4: PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MALE MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Race	M %	Age	M %	Marital Status	M %	No. of Children	M %
White	91	20-29	25	Married	87	None	22
Black	3	30-39	41	Divorced/Separated	4	One	20
Hispanic	3	40-49	16	Single	9	Two or Three	42
Asian/Amer.	(3)	50-59	13			Four or Five	13
Amer./Ind.	(2)	60 & over	5			Six & over	(5)
Total	(211)	Total	(216)	Total	(215)	Total	(209)

In contrast to the females, male respondents are younger (mean age = 37.4) than their female counterparts and exhibit less age diversity. Sixty-six percent of the male managers are between 20 and 39 years of age. They are also much more likely to be married. Eighty-seven percent of male managers are married compared with 61 percent of the female managers. While 32 percent of the females report being divorced, separated or single, only 13 percent of the males fall into these three categories.

When it comes to family size, female respondents are more likely than males to report having no children--32 percent of women managers as compared with 22 percent of men managers.

Age distribution within different occupational categories is our initial step into an investigation of career patterns for female and male respondents. Table 1.5 summarizes age statistics for both female and male municipal managers by job category.

TABLE 1.5: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

Age	Assistant		Department Head	
	F %	M %	F %	M %
20-29	35	38	22	24
30-39	36	43	47	41
40-49	15	8	16	24
50-59	13	8	10	12
60 & over	(2)	4	6	(0)
Total	(134)	(93)	(51)	(17)

Age	Finance Officer		CAO/CM		Clk/Treas/Req	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
20-29	9	14	3	15	7	(1)
30-39	16	38	10	37	10	(6)
40-49	27	16	30	24	24	(3)
50-59	34	24	53	19	41	(0)
60 & over	14	8	3	5	19	(0)
Total	(96)	(37)	(30)	(59)	(59)	(10)

The youngest group in municipal management is assistants. Seventy-one percent of the females and 81 percent of the males are 39 or younger. The department head category is also a relatively young group with a similar pattern between females and males. Sixty-nine percent of the females and 65 percent of the male department heads are 39 or younger.

39-40

In two other major job categories, CAO/CM and finance officer, significant differences between females and males emerge with regard to age. Male CAO/CM's are likely to be younger than their female counterparts. Forty-three percent of the male CAO/CM's are between 40 and 59, and 37 percent are between 30 and 39. While for female CAO/CM's 83 percent are between 40 and 59 and 10 percent fall into the 30 to 39 category. This tendency for women to fall into higher age brackets than men is especially striking when we examine the age bracket of 50-59. Fifty-three percent of the women CAO/CM's fall into this age group while only 19 percent of the men fit this category.

These findings seem to indicate that females reach top management positions at a later age than their male colleagues. Our data show that, in fact, men do enter public service jobs at an earlier age than women. The average age of male municipal managers when they take their first public service job is 27, while the average age for females is 30.

One factor influencing why women begin their public service careers later than men is sex discrimination. Sex discrimination seems to limit early access to high-level jobs for women. As highlighted by data from our telephone interviews, women are frequently asked discriminatory questions in job interviews. For example, women are questioned about child care obligations and possible ill-effects on their job performance, while no similar questions are asked of men. The impact of this kind of discrimination is suggested by our discovery that 61 percent of the male CAO/CM's have children under 10, and only 11 percent of the female CAO/CM's do. Given the relationships between age of parent and age of children, it seems likely that a young man with children has a better chance of being hired for a top-level position than a young woman with children, or that young women with children may choose to stay out of the job market for a number of years. In the first situation,

women may be interviewed and not hired. In the second situation, women may not seek municipal management jobs if their children are young, thus creating a small, self-selected population of young career women without children.

The age distribution pattern for finance officers is similar to that of CAO/CM's. Female finance officers are likely to be much older than males. Sixty-one percent are between 40 and 59, and only 16 percent are between 30 and 39. Forty percent of the male finance officers are between 40 and 59, and 38 percent are between 30 and 39.

In addition to reflecting the higher entry age for women in public service, this age disparity between females and males might well be explained by the nature of the finance officer position. The finance officer position was one of the first municipal occupations accessible to women. Many finance officers have held their jobs for a considerable number of years, in effect growing old with them. From their original bookkeeping duties, their tasks have expanded to include major accounting and budgetary responsibilities. Although their titles have remained the same, the nature of their jobs has changed dramatically.

The women who fall into the clerk/treasurer/registrar category are distinctly older than their male counterparts. The largest percentage of female clerks (41%) fall into the 50-59 age category and another 19 percent are over 60. There are no male clerks in the two oldest age categories. In fact, seven of the 10 male clerks are aged 39 or younger.

In reporting the differences in marital patterns between female and male managers, it is important to examine disparities within the context of occupation. Table 1.6 summarizes female and male respondents by job category and marital status.

TABLE 1.6: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' MARITAL STATUS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

Marital Status	Assistant		Department Head	
	F %	M %	F %	M %
Married	61	75	46	94
Divorced/ Separated	14	4	30	(0)
Widowed	(3)	(0)	(1)	(0)
Single	23	20	22	6
Total	(135)	(93)	(50)	(17)

Marital Status	Finance Officer		CAO/CM		Clk/Treas/Reg	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Married	66	97	63	95	67	(10)
Divorced/ Separated	19	3	13	5	7	(0)
Widowed	8	(0)	7	(0)	18	(0)
Single	7	(0)	17	(0)	8	(0)
Total	(96)	(37)	(30)	(58)	(60)	(10)

Of all the job categories, the female department heads show the most dramatic differences in marital patterns when compared with their male colleagues. Thirty percent of female department heads are divorced or separated and 22 percent are single. For male department heads none are divorced or separated and only six percent are single. Within the assistants group, 14 percent of female assistants are divorced or separated compared with only four percent of male assistants. Almost equal percentages of female and male assistants are single, 23 percent and 20 percent respectively.

Forty-five percent of all single women in this study are either assistants or department heads. These two job categories represent the youngest professionals

in our sample and the most professionally oriented. The fact that they are unmarried may be a factor of their relative youth or it may reflect a commitment to pursuing a career that deters women from marrying. Since pressures of marriage can conflict with pressures of a career more for a woman than for a man, these young professionals may have made a conscious decision not to marry.

The three oldest occupational categories, that of finance officer, CAO/CM and clerk/treasurer/registrar, show considerable marital differences by gender. Male finance officers and managers are overwhelmingly likely to be married, 97 percent and 95 percent compared with 66 percent of married female finance officers and 63 percent of married female managers. All 10 of the male clerk/treasurers are married compared with 67 percent of female clerk/treasurers. Even in these three job categories, women are still more likely to be divorced, separated or single than their male counterparts. Also, because of the age distribution, women are more likely to be widowed. Since female finance officers, managers and clerk/treasurers are older than male finance officers, managers, and clerk/treasurers, it is not surprising that eight percent of female finance officers, seven percent of CAO/CM's and 18 percent of clerk/treasurers are widowed.

Gender differences in marital status occur across job categories with males much more likely to be married and less likely to be divorced, separated or single than their female counterparts regardless of occupation.

In summary, the typical woman municipal manager respondent is most likely to be found in the assistant and finance officer positions, is older, has fewer children, and is more likely to be divorced, separated, or single than her male colleague.

PART II: NUMBERS AND LOCATION OF FEMALE MUNICIPAL MANAGERS: COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS OF WHERE THEY WORK

Key Findings

1. Women do not comprise a significant portion of the total municipal management team in any state or section of the nation. Women held an average of 10.5 percent of the total number of municipal management positions nationally in 1978.

2. Overall, regional differences in distribution of women in municipal management are not present. Female managers are equally dispersed throughout the Eastern, Southern, Central, and Mountain/Pacific regions.

   HOWEVER...

   - Female CAO/CM's predominate in the Eastern region
   - Female assistants and department heads predominate in the Mountain/Pacific region

3. Female managers are no more likely than male managers to serve in small towns. Among our respondents approximately half of the female and male managers work in communities with populations of between 10,000 and 39,000.

4. Eighty percent of female CAO/CM's responding to our survey and 56 percent of male CAO/CM's work in towns with populations of 9,000 and under. In contrast 25 percent of female assistants and 47 percent of female department heads work in towns of 100,000 and above compared with 13 percent of male assistants and 24 percent of male department heads.

5. The majority of female and male managers responding to our survey describe their towns as growing in population, moderate to conservative in character, and governed under the council/manager form of government.

6. A high percentage of female respondents (63%) and male respondents (73%) report that their towns have adopted an affirmative action plan; only 26 percent of the females and 42 percent of the males say their cities have adopted a professional management plan.

PART II: NUMBERS AND LOCATION OF FEMALE MUNICIPAL MANAGERS: COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS OF WHERE THEY WORK

In searching for the numbers and location of female municipal managers across the nation, we expected to find regional variations. Regional variations are important because they reflect political style and forms of local government across the country. Cities on the East Coast are old, have a dense and diverse population, and are governed predominantly under the mayor/council form of government. The development of the mayor/council form of government was a response to the weak, fragmented, and drifting local government of the mid-19th century.

Historically, the New England and Middle Atlantic states show the greatest dominance of the mayor/council form of government. Strong executive control through political leadership is its distinguishing trait. The accompanying characteristic of strong partisanship exerted through political parties is closely linked to this executive structure. We hypothesized that the opportunities for women in municipal management would be limited in the East, due to the traditional political culture and form of government.

In contrast to the East, cities in the West are characterized by 20th century mobility patterns, a professional management tradition in government, and nonpartisanship at the local level. The council/manager form of government was introduced early in the 20th century--a response to the need for businesslike government, efficiency, and accountability. Cities in the Pacific and Mountain regions quickly adopted this innovative structure. In the state of California alone, 98 percent of the cities are governed under the council/manager plan. Only the large cities of San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Bernadino operate under the mayor/council form of government. We hypothesized that opportunities for women in municipal management would be greater where professional criteria assume central importance. Cities in

the Southern region of the nation are characterized by lower income levels, the lingering impact of racial segregation, and a political party structure that still maintains partisan strength. In the Central region, cities are governed under three formats: mayor/council, council/manager, and commission. The commission form of government blends political leadership with concentrated authority. An elected commission performs both legislative and executive duties, with departmental administrative responsibilities divided among the commissioners.

Recognizing these regional differences, we asked what the numbers of female municipal managers in 1978 nationwide were and where they were located. Would women administrators predominate on the West Coast and be less likely to manage cities on the East Coast?

Determining the universe of female municipal managers is problematic. Our attempt to construct a total population figure depended on the most accurate sources available at the time of this study: the 1978 Municipal Year Book and ICMA's Directory of Assistants 1976-77. To identify the total number of women in municipal management in each state, we drew appointed CAO/CM's, finance officers, and public works directors from the Municipal Year Book. Assistants and department heads were drawn from the Directory of Assistants. However, in 1976 the ICMA survey of assistants had a 47 percent response rate and was only mailed to ICMA recognized local governments (2,888). Moreover, the ICMA questionnaire was sent to the appointed chief administrative officer and then routed to the staff assistants and department heads.

The 1978 Municipal Year Book had a 96 percent response rate and is compiled from responses to questionnaires returned from individual cities. Since each city has its own record keeping system, the data lack uniformity. For these reasons, our effort to construct a total summary statistic on the numbers of females in

municipal management probably underrepresents assistants and department heads. Nonetheless, it is useful to analyze Table 2.1 for a summary of the total numbers of municipal managers by state compiled from our sources and the total number and percent of female managers by state and region.

TABLE 2.1: NATIONAL REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES IN MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT

Region	Municipal Managers		
	Total # (F & M)	# of F	% of F
Eastern			
Maine	404	47	11.6
Vermont	149	20	13.4
New Hampshire	136	18	13.2
Massachusetts	605	63	10.4
Connecticut	226	21	9.3
Rhode Island	88	10	11.3
New York	516	63	12.4
New Jersey	773	92	11.9
Pennsylvania	1004	68	6.7
Regional Total	3901	402	10.3
Central			
Wisconsin	284	20	7.0
Illinois	797	65	8.1
Indiana	169	49	29.0
Michigan	726	55	7.6
Ohio	666	112	16.8
Minnesota	362	24	6.6
Iowa	208	26	12.5
Missouri	374	33	8.8
North Dakota	36	1	2.7
South Dakota	40	10	25.0
Nebraska	136	6	4.4
Kansas	230	20	8.7
Regional Total	4028	421	10.5

TABLE 2.1: NATIONAL REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES IN MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT (Cont'd.)

Region	Municipal Managers		
	Total # (F & M)	# of F	% of F
Southern			
Delaware	34	3	8.8
Maryland	123	10	8.1
West Virginia	106	17	16.0
Virginia	313	32	10.2
District of Columbia	3	0	--
North Carolina	470	66	13.8
South Carolina	213	25	11.7
Georgia	315	31	9.8
Florida	625	60	9.6
Kentucky	179	24	13.4
Tennessee	271	32	11.8
Alabama	151	21	13.9
Mississippi	108	12	11.1
Arkansas	114	19	16.6
Oklahoma	302	39	13.0
Louisiana	123	9	7.6
Texas	1076	82	7.4
Regional Total	4526	482	10.6
Mountain/Pacific			
Montana	55	14	25.4
Idaho	54	11	20.4
Wyoming	45	3	6.6
Nevada	41	4	9.7
Utah	97	11	11.0
Colorado	236	19	8.0
Arizona	186	14	7.5
New Mexico	118	14	11.9
Washington	206	27	13.1
Oregon	249	30	12.0
California	1473	141	10.0
Alaska	57	4	7.0
Hawaii	6	0	--
Regional Total	2823	292	10.34
NATIONAL TOTAL	15,278	1,597	10.5

Women in municipal management are spread among all four regions of the nation and in 49 of the 50 states. Only the state of Hawaii does not have a woman manager among its six municipal management positions listed for 1978. It is clear that despite state-to-state ranges, in no state or section of the nation do women comprise

a significant portion of the management team. In 1978, women held an average of approximately 10.5 percent of the total number of municipal management positions nationally. Women do not reach even a third of the municipal management work force in any state.

The four states where women comprise the largest percentages of the management team are Indiana (29%), Montana (25%), South Dakota (25%), and Idaho (20%). These states are located in the Central and Mountain/Pacific regions where the dominant forms of government are, first, the traditional mayor/council structure and, secondly, the commission format. The majority of women represented by the statistics hold the traditional managerial positions of finance officer, and clerk/treasurer/registrar, rather than the top positions of city manager or chief administrative officer.

In addition to Indiana, Montana, South Dakota, and Idaho, three other states have more than 15 percent of their municipal management positions filled by women. Female managers in Arkansas (17%), Ohio (17%), and West Virginia (16%) predominantly occupy finance officer positions. In summary, in the seven states with the largest percentages of municipal managerial women, we find these women clustered in traditional female job categories.

In 1978, the state of California employed the most managerial women--141. Although this number represents only 10 percent of the total managerial positions in the state, the job categories these women occupy cover a broad administrative range. For example, there are six women serving as city managers, 50 serving as finance officers, and 83 serving as assistants and department heads. As Parts I and III of this report document, the assistant and department head job categories are filled by female managers who are younger and better educated than their female counterparts in the finance officer, CAO/CM, and clerk/treasurer/registrar categories.

Regional differences in the percentage of women employed in city administration

across the country do not emerge. Women managers are dispersed throughout the nation, with women averaging 11 percent of the city administration work force in the Central and Southern regions, and 10 percent of the city administration work force in the Eastern region. In the Mountain/Pacific region, we hypothesized that a larger percentage of women municipal managers would serve in this region. Contrary to our expectations, only 10 percent of the municipal management work force is comprised of women.

Although regional differences do not emerge from these summary statistics on the numbers of municipal management women, they do appear when we distinguish between job categories on a national level. Table 2.2 summarizes regional patterns for female managers by job category.

TABLE 2.2: REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE MUNICIPAL MANAGERS NATIONWIDE BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY*

Region	CAO/CM	Finance Officer	Assistant & Department Head
	F %	F %	F %
Eastern	44	28	7
Mountain/Pacific	13	13	39
Central	16	30	17
Southern	27	29	37
National Totals	(154)	(1,091)	(329)

Of the nation's female CAO/CM's, 44 percent are found in the Eastern region and 27 percent are located in the Southern region. Female CAO/CM's are least likely to

*The clerk/treasurer/registrars in our sample have been included in the CAO/CM category in this table. As explained in Part I of this report, multiple listings of a single administrator appear in the ICMA Municipal Year Book when one person serves in more than one capacity within a municipality. Since those clerk/treasurer/registrars in our survey were identified in the Municipal Year Book as CAO/CM's, we have counted them as such in this table.

appear in the Mountain/Pacific region (13%). Women holding the traditional job of finance officer are almost equally likely to be found in the Central, Southern, and Eastern sections of the nation. The Mountain/Pacific region is the least likely section of the country to employ female finance officers.

An inverse relationship occurs when we look at the assistant and department head job categories. Here, the Mountain/Pacific region clearly leads the nation in the number of females employed in these two job categories. Fifty-six percent of the nation's young female professionls who work as assistants and department heads are clustered in the Central and Mountain/Pacific region. In contrast, in the Eastern region females comprise only seven percent of the nation's female assistants and department heads. While women administrators do not predominate on the West Coast or in the Central region, these two areas of the nation have the largest percentages of young, upwardly mobile, educationally credentialed female managers whose career paths could eventually lead to the top positions of city manager or chief administrative officer.

TABLE 2.3: REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MUNICIPAL MANAGER RESPONDENTS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

Region	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg		Assistant		Department Head	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Eastern	40	29	23	38	22	(0)	13	11	18	12
Central	10	29	40	38	30	(3)	17	27	16	29
Southern	37	22	22	11	37	(4)	35	28	18	29
Mountain/Pacific	13	20	16	14	12	(4)	35	34	49	29
Total	(30)	(59)	(96)	(37)	(60)	(11)	(136)	(93)	(51)	(17)

Table 2.3 summarizes the regional distribution of female and male respondents in our survey by job category. Our respondent regional profile mirrors the national

regional distribution for female managers. Female CAO/CM's are most likely to be found in the Eastern and Southern regions; female finance officers are clustered in the Central region, and female assistants and department heads are most likely employed in the Mountain/Pacific region. Male CAO/CM's and finance officers are most likely to be found in the Eastern and Central regions. Male assistants are most likely to be found in the Mountain/Pacific region and male department heads are dispersed equally among every region except the East.

Community Characteristics

In constructing a profile of the communities in which female and male managers work, we asked a series of questions on population, community character, form of government, and whether a city has formally adopted an affirmative action or a professional management plan.

Municipal managers in our survey represent a range of city types, from communities with populations of 9,000 and under to metropolitan centers such as Los Angeles, Boston, and New York. These managers come from liberal and conservative towns, from rapidly growing communities to towns with static growth rates, from mayor/council cities to those governed under council/manager formats. Table 2.4 summarizes the community population of female and male respondents.

TABLE 2.4: COMMUNITY POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Population	Municipal Managers	
	F	M
	%	%
9,000 and under	20	24
10,000 - 39,000	51	50
40,000 - 99,000	14	16
100,000 and over	16	10
Total	(372)	(217)

City population is an important variable in constructing the profile of female and male managers serving in local government. We hypothesized that women would be more likely to work in smaller communities, because the typical career pattern for a person in city management begins in the small community and works upward. Because of women's limited numbers in the field, we assumed many females would be in entry and middle management positions.

The median community population is 20,100 for the females and 18,000 for the males. Approximately half of female and male managers work in cities with populations of 10,000 to 39,000. Similar proportions of women and men administrators are employed in small towns of 9,000 and under (20% for the females and 24% for the males.) Table 2.4 reveals that women are no more likely than men to be serving in small towns. In fact, the female and male percentages are almost parallel throughout the population categories. A special effort was made to target women managers in cities of over 100,000 population. No such effort was made for male managers, and yet 10 percent of the men come from large cities, a probable reflection of their movement up a career ladder and their traditional domination of the city management profession.

TABLE 2.5: COMMUNITY POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

Population	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
9,000 and under	80	56	8	3	37	(1)
10,000 - 39,000	13	39	78	73	62	(10)
40,000 - 99,000	7	(1)	14	16	(1)	(0)
100,000 and over	(0)	3	(0)	8	(0)	(0)
Total	(30)	(59)	(96)	(37)	(60)	(11)

TABLE 2.5: COMMUNITY POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY (Cont'd.)

Population	Assistants		Department Heads	
	F	M	F	M
	%	%	%	%
9,000 and under	13	18	10	6
10,000 - 39,000	45	43	22	53
40,000 - 99,000	18	26	22	18
100,000 and over	25	13	47	24
Total	(136)	(93)	(51)	(17)

When we investigate the relationship between community population and job category (as summarized in Table 2.5), it is clear that the majority of CAO/CM's come from small towns of 9,000 population and under, while assistants and department heads overwhelmingly come from larger towns of 10,000 and over. Eighty percent of female CAO/CM's come from communities of 9,000 and under compared with 56 percent of male CAO/CM's. In contrast, 25 percent of female assistants are working in cities of 100,000 and over, compared with 13 percent of male assistants. And 47 percent of female department heads and 24 percent of male department heads are working in the largest cities of 100,000 and over population. For the job categories of finance officer and clerk/treasurer/registrar, the majority of female and male managers are employed by cities with populations between 10,000 and 39,000. The younger female and male department heads and assistants choose the medium to large city as their employment base. This is not surprising since staffs are larger, salaries higher, and resources more readily available in the large cities.

Along with population size, we asked managers for an assessment of whether their towns were growing, remaining static, or declining in population. A majority of managers report that their towns are increasing in population. Seventy-one

percent of the females and 74 percent of the males report that their towns are growing either rapidly or slowly. Only six percent of the females and seven percent of the males reported that their cities were declining slowly in population.

When respondents were asked to characterize the climate of the community in which they work as liberal, moderate, or conservative, both female and male managers overwhelmingly identify their cities as moderate (48% for females and 42% for males) to conservative (46% for females and 53% for males). Only six percent of female and male managers indicate that their towns are liberal. Almost twice as many female and male CAO/CM's as respondents in any other job category describe their towns as conservative rather than moderate. The assistants tend to mirror this perception but to a lesser degree. Specialists, such as finance officers and department heads, are more likely to describe their towns as moderate. Perhaps it is primarily the generalist, trying to move the community government forward on a variety of issues at once, who becomes impatient or aware of community adversity to change.

Built-in frustrations are inherent in a city management job. They are noted in the literature and surface in the telephone interviews. Bureaucratic red tape, politics, special interest groups, increased expectations of citizens and decreasing resource bases--all converge to characterize the municipal manager's job as stressful and complicated. Perhaps the nature of municipal management in the 1980's shades the perception of the CAO/CM's toward a conservative evaluation of their community.

The managers surveyed were targeted to represent cities governed under different organizational plans. The original sample was dominated by managers from mayor/council cities (60%) yet only 34 percent of female respondents and 30 percent of male respondents came from these cities. Our respondent group heavily represents council/manager cities (59% of the women and 69% of the men). Part of the explanation

for this probably lies in the tendency for administrators in council/manager cities to be more professionally oriented, more likely to have staff and more likely to respond to a questionnaire probing their field of expertise. Later in this report, in discussing the relationships between municipal managers and elected officials, we comment on the observed lack of partisan influence in the communities employing municipal managers. This skew in the sample toward management oriented cities, which tend to be clustered in the nonpartisan western region of the nation, accounts for the lack of partisanship we uncover.

Although the majority of female and male managers come from council/manager governed cities, not all of these cities have instituted a professional management plan. Approximately three-quarters of the female managers and more than half of the male managers work in cities without an official management plan. In contrast, 63 percent of the females and 73 percent of the males work in cities that have affirmative action plans on record. The affirmative action monitoring guidelines and timetables linking city government with federal grants results in an economic incentive for communities to develop and adopt such plans. No such incentive exists for the institution of a professional management plan, and it is most likely to be adopted in council/manager cities.

In summary, the typical municipal manager respondent, female or male, works in a growing, politically moderate to conservative, council/manager city likely to have an affirmative action plan and less likely to have a professional management plan.

PART III: EDUCATIONAL CREDENTIALS OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Key Findings

1. Male municipal managers report having more formal educational backgrounds and advanced training than their female counterparts:

   60% of males have a graduate degree or have some post-baccalaureate training compared with 33% of females

   Less than 1% of males report no college training, while 25% of females have no college training

   Only 11% of male managers have no Bachelor's degree compared with 52% of female managers

2. While males have better educational credentials than females across job categories, the sharp disparity in female and male educational levels becomes minimal at the entry and middle management levels. Younger entrants into municipal management have college degrees, regardless of sex:

   81% of female CAO/CM's and 66% of female finance officers do not hold a Bachelor's degree, compared with 11% of male managers and 24% of male finance officers

   92% of female clerk/treasurer/registrars are not college graduates compared with only two males in this category

   29% of female assistants report a Bachelor's degree as their highest level of education and 39% report a Master's degree compared with 37% of male assistants who hold a Bachelor's degree and 55% with a Master's degree

   37% of female department heads report a Bachelor's degree as their highest level of education and 31% report a Master's degree compared with 50% of male department heads holding a Bachelor's degree and 50% holding a Master's degree

3. Internships are a key means of entry into public service jobs:

   40% of male managers and 27% of female managers report this entry level training

4. Skill-building and informational workshops are a major continuing education vehicle for women and men in municipal management:

79% of female and 73% of male managers report attending such workshops within the past year

Both female and male managers are most likely to attend workshops within their home states, sponsored by state professional organizations

Men are more likely to travel out-of-state to attend workshops than their female counterparts--38% compared with 27%

PART III: EDUCATIONAL CREDENTIALS OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

"Don't be a generalist. Have a skill you can sell. You need background in the financial area, engineering, and planning in order to deal with staff in technical areas."

Male Town Manager from Connecticut

"I don't want to be pigeonholed because of a technical background. There are very few women with business degrees out in the field. If you have one, they look at you first."

Female Assistant Department Head from Maryland

Obtaining educational credentials has always been one of the traditional ways for disadvantaged groups in society to become upwardly mobile. When the desire for businesslike and professional government ushered in the council/manager form of government in 1908, educational credentials and experience as an administrator assumed central importance. In addition, the multiple demands facing women and men in municipal management in the 1980's will place more importance on career schooling and educational preparation prior to starting a job in city management. Once in a municipal management career, new technology, problems of growth, and changing intergovernmental relationships almost mandate continual "schooling" and updating of skills through technical assistance and skill-building workshops.

Both female and male managers in our telephone sample mention coping with the "unintended" in a period characterized by economic instability and resource scarcity. Suddenly terms such as "multiple audit," "multi-pocket budgeting," "spending caps," and "Proposition 13" have crept into the vocabulary of municipal management. The trend toward continuing education beyond undergraduate and graduate degree granting programs is apparent in the survey data, as workshops fill the need to master new finance and budgeting techniques. As federal and state grant-in-aid programs increase in importance, shared accountability and monitoring requirements at the local level also grow in importance.

Two of the questions raised in this study are: What educational credentials

and skills are necessary for women to pursue careers in municipal management? Do women and men managers have different educational backgrounds, or are they equally prepared through formal education to pursue city management careers?

In order to probe educational credentials, questionnaires mailed to female and male managers asked for post-secondary educational history and major field of study. Recognizing the growing importance of continuing education, the study also investigated internship experiences and workshop attendance.

TABLE 3.1: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Highest Level of Education	Municipal Managers	
	F	M
	%	%
High School Graduate	16	(2)
Noncollege Post-Secondary Training	9	(0)
Some College, No Degree	24	7
Associate's Degree	3	3
Bachelor's Degree	15	29
Some Graduate Work	10	14
M.A. or M.S.	9	16
Master of Public Administration	13	25
Master of Business Administration	(2)	4
J.D. or Other Law Degree	(4)	(1)
Ph.D.	(1)	(1)
Total	(347)	(207)

Table 3.1 summarizes the educational status of female and male municipal managers. It is apparent that male respondents report more formal educational backgrounds and advanced training than their female counterparts. Less than one percent of male managers report no college training compared with 25 percent of female managers with no college training. And while only 11 percent of male managers do not hold a

Bachelor's degree, 52 percent of female managers have not graduated from a four-year college.

Almost double the number of male managers have some advanced training or graduate degree, when compared with female managers. Sixty percent of males have done some graduate work (completed an M.A. or an M.S., hold an M.P.A., an M.B.A. or a law degree) compared with 33 percent of females. It is clear from these figures that the majority of women in municipal management have achieved their present positions through routes other than those which require formal education.

Since female and male managers have such diverse educational backgrounds, we wanted to see what disparities, if any, occur first among occupational categories and later among age categories with regard to educational background. Table 3.2A indicates the educational background of female and male municipal managers within three job categories.

TABLE 3.2A: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

Highest Level of Education	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Less than Bachelor's	81	11	66	24	92	(2)
Bachelor's Degree	(0)	39	28	61	6	(6)
Master's Degree	15	50	6	15	2	(1)
Doctoral Degree	4	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Total	(26)	(56)	(86)	(33)	(52)	(9)

Female managers without a Bachelor's degree (high school graduates and those with some post-secondary and collegiate training) are clustered in the job categories of CAO/CM (81%) and finance officer (66%). The most striking example of lack of educational credentials occurs within the "hidden level of management." When we

break out the clerk/treasurer/registrar job category along educational background, we discover that virtually all the women holding these jobs are not college graduates (92%).

The educational profile of men examined by job categories presents a much different picture. Only 11 percent of male CAO/CM's, 24 percent of male finance officers and two male clerk/treasurer/registrars have less than a Bachelor's degree.

Instead, male CAO/CM's are much more likely to have a Bachelor's degree (39%) or a Master's degree (50%) as their highest level of education. Male finance officers are most likely to have a Bachelor's degree (61%) and less likely to have a Master's degree (15%).

TABLE 3.2B: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

Highest Level of Education	Assistant		Department Head	
	F	M	F	M
	%	%	%	%
Less than Bachelor's	30	6	27	(0)
Bachelor's Degree	29	37	37	50
Master's Degree	39	55	31	50
Doctoral Degree	(2)	(2)	4	(0)
Total	(133)	(93)	(51)	(16)

A different profile becomes visible in Table 3.2B when we examine the educational backgrounds of female and male assistants and department heads. Although significant percentages of females still do not have a college degree--30 percent of assistants and 27 percent of department heads--an important new pattern of increased educational achievement for women is evident. Twenty-nine percent of female assistants have a Bachelor's degree as their highest level of education compared with 37 percent of males; another 39 percent of females have a Master's degree compared with 55 percent of male assistants. A total of 68 percent of female assistants have at least a

Bachelor's degree compared with 92 percent of male assistants.

A similar educational pattern occurs in the department head category, where 37 percent of females cite a Bachelor's degree as their highest level of education and another 31 percent cite a Master's degree. In comparison, 50 percent of male department heads have a Bachelor's degree and 50 percent have a Master's degree. A total of 68 percent of female department heads have at least a Bachelor's degree compared with 100 percent of male department heads.

While males still have more formal education than females regardless of job category, the female profile divides into a dichotomy according to occupation. This dichotomy separates CAO/CM, finance officer, and clerk/treasurer/registrar into the less educated column and assistant and department head into the more educated column. Since the sharp disparity between female and male educational levels is least apparent at the entry level and in middle management job categories, our finding suggests movement towards more uniform educational credentialing among female and male municipal managers.

Turning to age as a variable in explaining educational background, we hypothesized that younger entrants into the municipal management field would have the appropriate college degrees regardless of gender. Table 3.3 summarizes age and educational background for female and male respondents.

TABLE 3.3: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY

	Age (yrs)									
	20 - 29		30 - 39		40 - 49		50 - 59		60 & over	
Highest Level of Education	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Less than Bachelor's	24	2	36	9	67	7	73	36	74	(2)
Bachelor's Degree	31	43	31	40	17	53	19	36	19	(6)
Master's Degree	42	56	33	49	16	37	5	28	7	(1)
Doctoral Degree	3	(0)	1	1	(0)	3	2	(0)	(0)	(0)
Total	(71)	(54)	(95)	(89)	(69)	(30)	(83)	(25)	(27)	(9)

The younger the female manager, the more likely she is to have a Bachelor's or advanced degree. Inversely, the older the female manager, the less likely she is to hold any degrees in higher education. On the other hand, age does not appear to have an impact on the educational attainments of male managers. Only 22 male managers do not hold college degrees, and they are evenly divided among those under 50 and those over 50.

Thirty-one percent of female managers, aged 20 to 29, have attained a Bachelor's degree and another 42 percent have earned a Master's degree. In comparison, 43 percent of male managers in this age category report a Bachelor's degree as their highest level of education and 56 percent report holding a Master's degree. In the 30 to 39 age bracket, close to two-thirds of the female managers and 90 percent of the male managers, report holding at least a Bachelor's degree.

Except for those women age 60 and over, the older the age grouping for female managers, the larger the percentage of women without a college degree. For males without a college degree, there is no such age relationship visible.

By refining the analysis by controlling for occupational category, we find evidence which further documents women's changing educational achievements. Our hypothesis holds when we investigate the occupational categories of CAO/CM and finance officer for females and males. Of female CAO/CMs without a Bachelor's degree, virtually all (20 of 21) are 40 years of age or older. Male CAO/CMs are scattered throughout the age spectrum, but virtually all have a Bachelor's or Master's degree (50 of 56).

In the finance officer category, 66 percent of the women do not hold a Bachelor's degree and, as age increases, so does the percentage of females without a college degree. In contrast, the majority of males in this occupational category, 76 percent, have college degrees.

Seventy percent of female assistants and 72 percent of female department heads

hold a Bachelor's or advanced degree compared with 100 percent of male department heads and 93 percent of male assistants.

In summary, the overall finding that males have more formal educational credentials than females across job categories is tempered by the fact that younger municipal managers are likely to have undergraduate or graduate degrees regardless of gender. Since older females are clustered in the more traditional jobs of finance officer and clerk, and younger females tend to be assistants and department heads, the educational credentials of female municipal managers can be expected to resemble those of their male counterparts in the future.

Major Field of Study

The question of major field of study was posed to those females and males who attended college. While the female and male profiles of educational majors are very similar overall, some sharp differences filter out among the various job categories. For example, 31 percent of females and 43 percent of males majored in public administration, and 31 percent of females and 26 percent of males majored in business administration and related technical fields. Almost equal percentages (10% of females and 11% of males) majored in the social sciences.

Yet, when job categories are isolated, 55 percent of male CAO/CM's and two of ten male clerk/treasurer/registrars majored in public administration compared with only 15 percent of female CAO/CM's and four percent of female clerks.

It was hypothesized that the female finance officers and clerks might not have followed a typical city management career route (i.e. professionally oriented and college educated). Many have had accounting and/or bookkeeping training rather than traditional college educations. Eighteen percent of female finance officers and 19 percent of clerks report a secretarial or business school educational background

compared with none of their male colleagues in these two job categories. Sixteen percent of female finance officers and 33 percent of clerks also report high school as their highest level of educational attainment compared with only 3 percent of male finance officers and no male clerks. Clearly, at one time, it was not necessary to hold an advanced degree or even be a college graduate to enter municipal management. Reaching the top in many towns and cities used to be a matter of experience and seniority.

Internships

Today, both females and males perceive internships as "the foot in the door" to a job in municipal management. The work experience, whether it is rotation through a variety of city departments or an in-depth assignment in the manager's office, gives a person the opportunity to build a work record, to develop contacts within the professional field, and to have an advantage over another candidate who has solely "book knowledge" to offer an employer.

Frequently, managers in our sample were first exposed to public service through an internship experience. Male managers were more likely to have had an internship (40%) than their female counterparts (27%). Among the female managers, once again the job categories of assistant and department head are distinguished from the other three job classifications. Nearly half of female assistants (46%) and 30 percent of female department heads had internships, but only a few females in other job categories had similar experiences.

Among male managers, more than half of the assistants had internships (51%). In addition, 44 percent of male CAO/CM's report a field experience at entry level positions. The crucial variable is age. Young people of both sexes increasingly use internships for entry into the field, and as a means of learning the necessary

practical skills to supplement their college degrees.

It appears that those managers with internship experiences eventually got jobs in larger cities. Forty-four percent of female and male respondents from the larger cities had internships compared with 15 percent of managers in the smaller cities.

Internships are more likely to be a part of the educational background in certain geographic areas. Female and male municipal managers in all job categories are most likely to have held internships if they work on the Pacific Coast or in the Central United States. In those regions, at least 50 percent of managers report internships, while nationwide the trend toward field-related work experiences is less pronounced.

Workshops

Due to the changing technology and the kaleidoscope of demands in municipal management, the need for education never ends. The skills-building or informational workshop appears to be a major continuing educational vehicle for municipal managers. Seventy-nine percent of female and 73 percent of male managers report attending at least one workshop during the past year. Regardless of job category, females and males were equally likely to have attended a workshop. Among males, the CAO/CM's are most likely to attend, followed by assistants, finance officers and department heads. Among the females, clerk/treasurer/registrars are more likely to report attendance at workshops. Perhaps the continuing education and information sharing workshop is particularly important to this occupational group since they have the least formal education.

Geographic region does not have an impact on the likelihood to attend workshops for either females or males. Managers from all regions are equally likely to attend workshops. Yet, men are more likely to travel out-of-state for various sessions. Thirty-eight percent of male managers report attending out-of-state workshops compared with 27 percent of female managers.

Female managers are most likely to attend workshops in budget and finance while male managers are most likely to attend workshops in management and administration. Thirty-nine percent of women list budget and finance workshops and 29 percent list sessions in management and administration compared with 26 percent of men listing financially oriented workshops and 35 percent listing workshops in management and administration. The third most likely workshop for either sex to attend is an information sharing session (e.g. federal revenue sharing, grantsmanship).

When reporting sponsoring agencies for workshops, 30 percent of female managers listed statewide professional organizations, and 19 percent listed national professional associations. Among male managers, 25 percent indicated they attended workshops sponsored by state professional organizations, and 26 percent listed workshops sponsored by national professional associations. Universities and governmental agencies are listed as workshop sponsors less often than professional groups and associations. In summary, both female and male managers are most likely to attend workshops within the home state, sponsored by state professional organizations.

Educational Advice for Women Interested In A Municipal Management Career

In our telephone interviews, we asked what educational advice females and males would offer to a woman interested in pursuing a municipal management career. As Table 3.4 summarizes, women administrators frequently recommend a Master's degree in either public administration or business administration rather than specialization in one area or a technical degree in a field such as engineering, accounting, or planning.

TABLE 3.4: EDUCATIONAL ADVICE TO WOMEN IN MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT*

Educational Advice	Municipal Manager Telephone Interviewees	
	F %	M %
Masters of Public Administration	47	61
Masters of Business Administration	44	30
Advanced Technical Degree	9	17
Advanced Political Science/Gov't. Degree	9	(0)
Unspecified Basic Education/B.A.	32	26
B.S./Technical Degree	29	48
Law	6	4
Total	(34)	(23)

*Up to three suggestions were counted from each respondent. Percentages are calculated by dividing the number of times a suggestion was made by the number of municipal managers who answered this question (see footnote 1).

Forty-seven percent of females who offered educational advice cited an M.P.A. and another 44 percent cited an M.B.A. Among male respondents who offered educational advice, 61 percent cite an M.P.A. and less than a third cite an M.B.A.

Generally, among our telephone sample an advanced degree is viewed as the equivalent of a union card, used frequently as a screening device by interviewers to get a candidate pool down to a manageable size.

Males who were interviewed by telephone, while recognizing the need for an M.P.A. or M.B.A., also value highly undergraduate and advanced technical degrees. Their advice seems to be, "Don't be a generalist, have a skill you can sell." Forty-eight percent of the males cite a technical B.S. as an educational route into municipal management for women. Twenty-six percent valued a well-rounded basic educational background and 17 percent mentioned an advanced degree such as a C.P.A. or M.A. in planning as an educational route into the field for women.

A woman's fear of being stymied in a technical position because of her

specialization is frequently cited as a reason why females suggest an M.P.A. or M.B.A. as the best educational foundation to start a career in city management.

Women administrators also mention the importance of political and diplomatic skills as educational tools in dealing with different groups of people. "You have to use psychology every day to get people to give you information and do things that they may not want to do. You can do it two ways--throw your weight around, or persuade them. I can read a sanitation equipment list and figure out quickly what I need and what I don't need. But how to get that guy to go along with me and ask for that out of his bureaucracy, that's where the talent of persuasion comes in," says a female district manager from New York.

A number of male administrators interviewed do not see a great need for theory in the city management profession. Instead, they prefer a very practical kind of hands-on ability to deal in policy interpretation and technical areas. Budget and personnel are the two substantive areas mentioned most frequently by male administrators. Perhaps this is one reason why males value the specialist's knowledge gained from majoring in a technical field.

In summary, females and males agree on the need for advanced degrees such as an M.P.A. or M.B.A. for persons considering municipal management as a career field. The only issue that sparked different viewpoints on education was the male advice to major in an undergraduate technical field, while females tended to suggest a general educational route.

Among female managers interviewed who had no college degree--undergraduate or graduate--the consensus was strong that "these days are gone forever." The advanced degree has become the union card in municipal management today.

PART IV: CAREER PATHS AND AMBITIONS OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

A: PUBLIC MANAGEMENT RECRUITMENT

Key Findings

1. Initial recruitment into public service careers takes place through an informal, personal network rather than through professional ties, employment services, or talent banks:

   49% of female managers and 30% of male managers found their first job in government services through a friend or professional associate

2. Educational institutions play an important role in the initial career decision to enter the public sector:

   16% of female managers say they found their first job through a college placement service, teacher/professor's recommendation or an internship

   28% of male managers credit educational institutions as the means of finding their first job

3. Female managers depend primarily on promotional opportunities to climb a career ladder while male managers rely on a variety of job hunting strategies:

   47% of female managers obtained their present job through promotions within the system compared with 32% of male managers

   23% of male managers utilized professional publications to land their present managerial job while only 4% of female managers used this source

   26% of male managers relied on newspaper advertisements to secure their management position compared with only 6% of female managers

4. Approximately one-third of female managers and more than a quarter of male managers report a family history of public service careers. Males are likely to report jobs held by their fathers (40%) while females most often mention jobs held by their spouse (23%) and their father (20%).

5. This study found little evidence that political party activity or an elected political career translates into an administrative career path:

Only 12% of female managers and 6% of male managers report holding a political party office

17% of female managers and 24% of male managers report having held or presently holding at least one elective or appointive public office. However, the majority of public offices listed by both females and males are appointive (76% of females and 81% of males), and primarily are positions on boards and commissions (66% of females and 49% of males) or are municipal management jobs (49% of females and 59% of males).

5% of females found their first job through a political party route compared with 2% of males

PART IV: CAREER PATHS AND AMBITIONS OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

A: PUBLIC MANAGEMENT RECRUITMENT

How Are Female and Male Managers Recruited to Public Service Jobs?

An occupational distribution and a regional analysis of the women in municipal management in 1978 has provided us with answers to who these women are and to what their numbers and locations are. Further investigation of educational background fills in new information on educational credentialing within the field of city management. As we turn to career paths and future ambitions, we ask: What are the routes to municipal management that women and men have followed? Are their career paths similar or do they differ? And what career plans for the future do women and men in municipal management have?

We asked each manager to record her/his first job in public service and to indicate how she/he discovered it. In exploring entry-level influences in the careers of female and male managers we asked for information about family background with respect to public service careers, and information about the managers' own political histories. It was hypothesized that if family members either held political office or worked in a civil service or governmental administration job, that would be an important motivating factor predisposing a woman or man toward a public service career. Another assumption to test was whether a political route, either through elected office or political party activity, directs women and men into career administrative jobs in local government.

Gender specific recruitment patterns are apparent when female and male managers seek their first jobs in public service and their present jobs in municipal management. A larger percentage of women than men rely on informal personal contacts for locating jobs in both situations. Women rely heavily on internal promotions and the system's recognition of their talents for their present jobs, while men depend on tapping links

to professional organizations through publications in the field, in addition to taking advantage of promotional opportunities. In both past and present job hunting contexts, a small but constant number of females also utilize a political party route, while males barely tap this avenue for professional employment purposes.

Means of Finding First Municipal Management Position

When it comes to finding a first job in municipal management, the greatest percentage of female and male respondents rely on informal networks of personal contacts. Forty-nine percent of female managers and 30 percent of male managers report finding their first job through a friend or professional associate. The fact that almost half of the women and less than a third of the men rely on an informal system points to the importance of networking for female administrators.

Educational institutions are the second most likely source that women and men turn to in this first critical decision about career direction. Twenty-eight percent of male managers and 16 percent of female managers credit a college placement service, teacher/professor's recommendation, or an internship as the means of finding their first job. Five percent of male managers and three percent of female managers used the services of a college placement center. Male administrators rely more heavily on a teacher/professor's recommendation than female administrators (8% compared to 5%). Males are also more likely to gain entry into the profession through an internship than their female peers. Fifteen percent of males find their first job in public service through an internship experience compared with eight percent of females.

The third most likely means of job finding was to search through newspaper employment advertisements. Fourteen percent of the women and 17 percent of the men used this source as a way to discover available jobs. It is significant to note that few municipal managers of either sex took advantage of established job finding techniques

or organizations. For example, only four percent of males and a single female took advantage of job listings in professional publications. And only two percent of all municipal managers used a professional placement service to find a first job in the public sector. Only three males (and no females) used the services of a talent bank.

Women administrators utilize political party ties to a limited degree in starting their municipal careers. Five percent of females found their first jobs through a political party route while less than two percent of males utilized political party ties.

Job placement techniques change dramatically among female and male managers when they describe how they located their present jobs. As expected, educational institutions, internships and teacher/professor recommendations shrink to insignificant percentages for both female and male managers. The dependence on personal contacts is also reduced.

While women still rely on friends and professional associates' suggestions more than men, the disparity in percentages is narrowed considerably (26% for females and 22% for males). Close to half of all female managers (47%) relied on the system in which they worked to recognize their managerial potential and promote them to their present jobs in local government. Thirty-two percent of the males relied on promotional opportunities to obtain their present jobs.

Male managers depended heavily on other job hunting strategies outside their own organization to find their present job. Twenty-three percent of males turned to their links with professional organizations and utilized professional publications to land their present job. Only four percent of the females used this device. Males continued to turn to newspapers' employment advertisements in job hunting, increasing their reliance on this strategy from 14 percent for their first jobs to 26 percent for their present jobs. Female reliance on this outside source diminished from 14 percent for their first jobs to six percent in their present jobs.

A small percentage of female managers continued to rely on political party contact for discovering their present jobs (4%), while only one male in the sample utilized political party ties for his present job. Of those female managers who credit a political party as the means of finding their current job, 92 percent serve in cities governed under the mayor/council format. Of those female managers who credit an educational institution for their present job, 90 percent serve in cities governed under the council/manager format.

It is apparent that most entry-level recruitment takes place in a nonformal word-of-mouth manner. For those interested in systematically recruiting more women to municipal management positions, these statistics are not encouraging. The partial influence of educational institutions on career decisions is likely to increase for women as more of them enter graduate M.P.A. programs. This suggests that considerable attention must be directed at institutions of higher education (particularly schools of business and public administration) to attract women graduates into the profession. The importance of using an internship as an entry level recruitment device is also apparent in the survey as a means to increase the numbers of women in the field.

The dependency on networking is likely to operate differently for females than it does for males. References to the "old boys network" described in "Barriers" Part VII of this report, indicates that males are likely to use school ties and business connections in uncovering job opportunities. Female networks are underdeveloped and fledgling (as documented in Part VI of this report).

Two Routes to Public Service

A family history of public service careers is one factor that we thought might motivate a woman or man to choose government service as a career. A high proportion of municipal managers report family members holding public service jobs. Close to a

third of the females (32%) and more than a quarter of the males (26%) have at least one relative who has held or presently holds municipal management, civil service or elective or appointive public positions.

Female managers who started their first job in public service as CAO/CM's (50%), public sector professionals (45%), and clerk/treasurer/registrars (32%) were most likely to report a family history in public employment. For male managers, those who started their first job in public service as clerks (36%) and department heads (36%) were most likely to report family service in the public sector. The family jobs these respondents report are primarily at the local government level.

Of those females who report a family public service history, the relatives most often mentioned are spouse (23%) and father (20%). In contrast, males are more likely to report jobs held by their fathers (40%) and then their wives (13%). Among this percentage of respondents who are following a family pattern in career path, the males tend to follow the public service path of their father's, while females are influenced by both spouse and father.

When we investigate the relationship between managers in their present job and family patterns in public service, female CAO/CM's (43%), clerk/treasurer/registrars (37%), and department heads (35%) are most likely to have family members in government employment. Male assistants (28%) and CAO/CM's (27%) are the most likely to list family background in public sector employment. Family background in public service is reported by a significant percentage of female and male municipal managers. Public service family history is reported across job categories for females and males and is likely to be one motivating factor on career choices for both women and men in this study.

Political Party Route

There is little evidence of a strong link between political parties and career administrative jobs. Only a small percentage of respondents (12% of women and 6% of men) report holding a political party office. Seventeen percent of the female managers and 24 percent of the male managers do report that they have held or presently hold at least one elective or appointive public office. Yet, of these respondents, most list appointive (76% of females and 81% of males) rather than elective office (24% of females and 19% of males). The majority of female and male managers who list public offices report service on boards and commissions (66% of females and 49% of males) or municipal management positions (49% of females and 59% of males). There are very few examples of local elective politicians such as councilmember or mayor, moving into administrative careers.

There is no indication that political party activity is rewarded with a municipal management position for males, and only a slight percentage of females credit their first jobs in public service to a political party (as we reported earlier in this section). If patronage is an important factor at the local level, it is not leading to municipal management jobs. The minor impact of a political party route into managerial positions should not be surprising since the majority of our respondents are from council/manager cities, many of which are nonpartisan at the local level.

In Part VI of this report we analyze communication barriers between elected and appointed officials. These barriers indicate that rather than a cooperative exchange between the politicians and the managers, (the type of relationship that would foster a political route into city administration jobs), there is often a strained relationship and a set of consciously erected barriers.

In summary, initial recruitment into municipal management careers takes place

primarily through informal, personal networks for female and males; secondarily through the efforts of educational institutions. Female managers depend primarily on promotional opportunities to climb a career ladder while male managers rely on a variety of job hunting techniques ranging from professional publications to newspaper advertisements to locate their present jobs in municipal management.

A significant proportion of both female and male managers report family patterns of public service employment predominantly at the local government level. The relative absence of a political party route to career public service for males and to a lesser extent for females may lead to administrative misunderstandings of political pressures and timetables, and sometimes the politician's policy viewpoint.

PART IV: CAREER PATHS AND AMBITIONS OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

B: CAREER PATHS OF FEMALES AND MALES IN MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT

Key Findings

1. Female CAO/CM's and finance officers most likely started their public service career as clerk/treasurer/registrars while male CAO/CM's and finance officers started their career path as assistants.

2. The majority of women and men serving as department heads record their first job in public service as that of assistant.

3. The clerk/treasurer/registrar position serves as an entry point to a managerial career route across occupations for female managers, while male managers predominantly rise from the ranks of assistant regardless of present occupational title.

4. Female managers earn less money than their male counterparts:

   Female respondents earn an average annual salary of $17,041 compared with an average salary of $21,774 for male managers

   62% of females earn annual salaries of $10,000 to $19,000 while 39% of males earn salaries in this range

   24% of females earn annual salaries of $20,000 to $29,000 compared with 44% of males

5. Salary levels rise with community population. Females in every job category in smaller towns earn less money than females in large towns:

   21% of female CAO/CM's, 38% of finance officers, 32% of clerks, and 19% of assistants in towns of 9,000 and under population, report earning $9,000 or less

   43% of female finance officers, 33% of assistants, and 45% of department heads in towns of 40,000 to 79,000 population, earn salaries of $20,000 and above

6. Municipal managers in council/manager cities are better paid than their counterparts in mayor/council cities:

   63% of male and 34% of female managers report earning $20,000 and above in council/manager cities

   50% of male and 25% of female managers report earning $20,000 and above in mayor/council cities

PART IV: CAREER PATHS AND AMBITIONS OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

B: CAREER PATHS OF FEMALES AND MALES IN MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT

You have to climb the ladder.
Male City Manager from Ohio

I really don't like large cities.
Male Town Manager from Maine

The typical ICMA career model is one where a female or male administrator starts her/his career as an assistant in a small town and continues to move onward and upward to larger communities with more responsibilities, bigger challenges, and higher pay. Once the top position of city manager is achieved in a town, there is no place to go except to a larger city, a sprawling community, a metropolitan center. We hypothesized that female managers would have an alternate career model, characterized by fewer relocations, and more years of residency in a community and state, reaching the top position of city manager through a checkerboard of occupational jobs.

Career patterns in our sample show considerable diversity, with many female and male administrators moving from a large town to a small town. Some career patterns show little geographic movement while others show considerable movement within a region or state but not interstate.

What series of jobs leads to a CAO/CM position for women and men? Are the jobs different? Where do municipal managers plan to move in the future? What types of jobs appeal the most and the least to local administrators? How mobile are female and male managers and what factors influence them positively or negatively toward relocation?

Average Job Tenure

Respondents were asked to report their career history. Calculating the average job tenure from the three most recent past jobs, female managers were found to have a mean job tenure of 4 years compared with a mean tenture of 3.5 years for male

managers. Both female and male assistants and department heads report the shortest job tenure while female and male clerk/treasurer/registrars and finance officers report the longest tenure. Forty-seven percent of female assistants and 40 percent of male assistants have spent under two years in government service. In contrast, 30 percent of both female and male finance officers report mean tenures of between five and 15 years in public service.

Tracing Career Paths by Job Category

Differences in career paths begin to appear as we sketch past job histories for females and males in each occupational category in the sample. In addition to listing their first job in public service, female and male managers reported three jobs that preceded their current municipal management position.

Chief Administrative Officer/City Manager

The responsibilities of a chief administrative officer/city manager vary depending on whether the city is governed under a council/manager or mayor/council format. Under council/manager government, the city manager has overall administrative responsibility for the day-to-day operations of the city. This includes the jobs of appointing and dismissing department heads, developing the budget and implementing it after council approval, and recommending policy to the council.

Under a mayor/council form of government, the chief administrative officer is appointed by the mayor to relieve the elected officials of certain administrative duties. The degree of administrative responsibility and authority is less than that of a city manager and differs widely depending on local needs, preferences, and political culture.

The largest percentage of female CAO/CM's started their first job in public

service as clerk/treasurer/registrars (47%) while more than half of male CAO/CM's record their first job in public service as that of an assistant (54%). In each of the three jobs immediately preceding their present managerial position, about one-quarter to one-third of the women report serving as clerk/treasurer/registrar, (35% for past job, 31% for second past job, and 22% for third past job). Nowhere in the past job history of male CAO/CM's does a noticeable percentage of men report the clerk category as a career route. Instead, male managers consistently report serving as assistants in their three prior jobs before this top administrative post.

With few exceptions, the female CAO/CM's in our survey are older and have held their jobs a relatively long time. Some of these women may have assumed their positions before the growth in local government resulted in the proliferation of the assistant category or they serve in towns not likely to have many assistants.

Finance Officer

The role of a finance officer can be as complex as having the responsibility of drafting and implementing the municipal budget, as well as having administrative duties for purchasing and billing procedures. Or, the finance officer position in many small towns can be primarily a bookkeeping task leaving major budgetary decisions to be formulated by the mayor and council.

Thirty-five percent of female finance officers record their first job in public service as clerk/treasurer/registrar, while only eight percent of male finance officers started their public service careers at this level. Male finance officers are most likely to have come from the ranks of assistants in their past jobs in public service or they were recruited from the private sector. Women currently serving as finance officers have either been promoted from the job of assistant, switched career tracks from another professional job in public service employment (e.g. teacher, social

worker), or previously served as clerk/treasurer/registrars in the past three jobs preceding their current post.

Clerk/Treasurer/Registrar

The position of clerk/treasurer/registrar used to consist primarily of handling correspondence for the mayor and council, being responsible for city documents, and handling licenses. In recent years, the duties in many small towns across the country have grown to transform the clerk position into an administrative and managerial post. Most of the women holding clerk positions in our sample have always held these jobs and many have achieved it from the rank of secretary. While there are few male clerks among our respondents (11), they record a past job history ranging from positions as finance officers, department heads, assistants, and employees in the private sector.

Assistants

The occupational title of assistant covers a broad range of administrative duties. It includes assistant managers, administrative assistants, and management analysts. Assistants are considered part of the management team, but their duties are defined by the appointed town CAO/CM. The assistant level is the beginning or intermediate step of a municipal manager's career ladder.

Fifty-seven percent of female assistants list their first job in public service as an assistant compared with 70 percent of male assistants. The assistant position serves as an intermediate step on a public service career ladder for the publically employed professional such as a social worker, teacher or librarian, who switches over to a municipal management career track. Over one-fifth of female assistants list the position of clerk/treasurer/registrar as the job they held prior to assuming

their present assistant position (21% for prior job, 30% for second past job, and 23% for third past job). Male assistants overwhelmingly began their public management careers at the assistant level and prior to serving in an assistant post they usually have served as an intern or may have been employed in the private sector.

Department Head

Women and men serving as department heads are specialists primarily responsible for a specific administrative area within municipal government, such as personnel, planning, or finance. The majority of women and men serving as department heads record their first job in public service as that of assistant (43% of females and 47% of males). In retracing their three prior jobs preceding their current municipal management position, both female and male department heads record the job of assistant most frequently, followed by department head, professional in public employment, and private sector employment. Ten percent of female department heads list the clerk/treasurer/registrar position as their second past job and 12 percent list it as their third past job. No male department heads list the clerk position as a prior job in any of the three posts recorded.

In summary, for females in all job categories, the clerk/treasurer/registrar position is a likely stop on a municipal management career route. Experience in this job is not common for male managers. Rather, males in all job categories are more likely to rise from the ranks of assistants.

Female and Male Salary Profile

Studies by the U. S. Department of Labor have repeatedly demonstrated that men are better rewarded for their labor than women. This study generally reflects this fact with male managers earning a mean annual salary of $21,774 compared with a mean annual salary of $17,041 for female managers. Male managers consistently earn more

money than their female counterparts even when we control for job category and population. Overall, 39 percent of male managers earn between $10,000 and $19,000, while 62 percent of their female colleagues earn salaries in this range. Forty-four percent of male managers earn between $20,000 and $29,000 in their municipal management positions while only 24 percent of females fall into this salary range.

TABLE 4.1: SALARY OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

Salary ($/yr to nearest thousand)	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/ Reg		Assistant		Department Heads	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
9,000 & Under	17	(0)	12	6	12	(0)	4	2	4	(0)
10,000 - 19,000	50	33	58	37	73	(7)	72	42	35	24
20,000 - 29,000	30	34	27	46	15	(3)	20	48	35	59
30,000 - 39,000	3	26	3	11	(0)	(0)	4	7	18	12
40,000 - 49,000	(0)	7	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	8	6
Total	(30)	(58)	(95)	(35)	(59)	(10)	(134)	(92)	(49)	(17)

Controlling for job category reveals salary differences between females and males across all municipal management positions sampled as Table 4.1 summarizes. For example, 17 percent of female CAO/CM's earn $9,000 and under while none of their male counterparts fall into this salary range. Thirty-three percent of female CAO/CM's are earning between $20,000 and $39,000 while 60 percent of males serving as CAO/CM's fall into this income range.

The majority of female finance officers (58%) are earning between $10,000 and $19,000 while only 37 percent of male finance officers report salaries in this range. Forty-six percent of male finance officers earn between $20,000 and $29,000 and 11 percent earn between $30,000 and $39,000 while only 27 percent and three percent of their female colleagues earn comparable salaries in these respective ranges.

Among female and male clerk/treasurer/registrars, salary disparities appear at the top and bottom salary levels. Twelve percent of female clerks are earning $9,000 and under compared with none of their male counterparts. Yet, three of 10 male clerks are earning between $20,000 and $29,000 while only 15 percent of female clerks earn salaries in this range.

We hypothesized that the salary profile for female and male assistants and department heads would be similar since they represent the younger, more educated professionals in the sample. Curiously, salary disparity continued to manifest itself in the assistant category, with 72 percent of female assistants earning between $10,000 and $19,000 and only 42 percent of their male colleagues earning salaries in this range. Yet, 48 percent of male assistants earned between $20,000 and $29,000 while 20 percent of female assistants fell into this salary range.

Female and male department heads' salaries were least disparate, with 35 percent of females earning between $10,000 and $19,000 compared with 24 percent of males, and 35 percent of females earning between $20,000 and $29,000 compared with 59 percent of males.

Searching for explanations that may shed light on salary disparities, we decided to examine age and community population distribution of the municipal managers. Some of the differences between female and male salary levels are explained by the fact that the female population currently holding managerial positions of CAO/CM, finance officer, and clerk/treasurer/registrar are older than their male colleagues. In general, salaries were lower when these women began their careers in municipal management. However, age does not provide the missing clues to salary differences because women and men enter municipal management positions at different ages and it is likely that men are further along in their career path than women at comparable ages.

Community Population Distribution

Salary levels rise with city size. Females in every job category in smaller towns earn less money. For example, 21 percent of female CAO/CM's, 38 percent of finance officers, 32 percent of clerk/treasurer/registrars, and 19 percent of assistants in towns of 9,000 and under, report earning $9,000 and under. As the population of the city increases, the percentage of females across all job categories earning salaries of $9,000 and above increases. For example, 43 percent of finance officers, 33 percent of assistants, and 45 percent of department heads in towns of 40,000 to 79,000 population are earning $20,000 and above in salaries.

In addition to population size, form of government affects salary levels. Administrators in council/manager cities are better paid than their counterparts in mayor/council cities. Sixty-three percent of male and 34 percent of female managers earn salaries of $20,000 and over in council/manager cities compared with 50 percent of male and 25 percent of female managers in mayor/council cities.

It should be noted that the mayor/council cities include large urban centers which would be expected to pay more in salary. Additionally, the larger proportion of council/manager cities in the respondent group includes a number of assistants. The assistant position is usually an entry or middle management level which could be expected to pay less than other managerial positions. The fact that council/manager cities pay better despite these factors, supports the notion that professional administrators are more respected and valued in such cities. Overall, male managers earn more money in their municipal management positions than their female colleagues.

Advice to Women Interested in a City Management Career

Drawn from our telephone interviews, the composite portrait of an ideal female city manager and the qualities she should have include a sincere desire to serve the

public; flexibility and ability to sacrifice play time for work time; a basic self-confidence that allows her to establish and maintain credibility; excellent writing and oral skills; good interpersonal skills with a sense of political realities; the willingness and facility to make tough decisions; honesty. In addition to these traits, our respondents tell us it helps if a woman is professionally active, builds up contacts in the field, and attaches herself to a mentor who can guide her along a career path. Nerves of steel and a high tolerance for frustration are mentioned as necessary personality components for being a successful city manager. The combination of communication skills, organizational abilities, and a bit of political salespersonship shape the profile of a city manager.

The following questions were posed in our study: Realistically, what advice can be given to a woman interested in entering the city management field? What demands will be placed on her? What skills will she need to move into a top management position? These questions were asked of all telephone interviewees. What emerged was a consistent pattern of advice that showed few gender-based differences. The following table summarizes the advice offered by telephone interviewees.

TABLE 4.2: TELEPHONE INTERVIEWEES' ADVICE TO WOMEN SEEKING MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT CAREERS*

Advice to Women Seeking Municipal Management Careers	Telephone Interviewees F %	M %
Have Interpersonal Skills	50	45
Have Communication Skills	39	41
Have Political Skills	39	36
Have Managerial Skills	36	27
Be Professional/Don't Be Emotional	22	14
Be Realistic	17	23
Look for Internships	14	9
Learn How to Team Play	11	9
Have Technical Skills	11	23
Be Mobile	6	9
Look for Large Cities	3	14
Don't Be Defensive	3	9
Find a Mentor	(0)	14
Total	(36)	(22)

*Up to three suggestions were counted from each respondent. Percentages are calculated by dividing the number of times each suggestion was given by the number of telephone interviewees who answered this question.

As Table 4.2 indicates, there is a strong consensus about which skills a female municipal manager needs most. Interpersonal skills are ranked highest by both female and male administrators. Municipal management is described as a "people job" where the general public as well as the management staff has a tremendous input on day-to-day decisions and policies. "You are a public servant, and you have to have a feel for what the public wants," explains a female assistant in Iowa. A male administrative aide in Virginia shares this view: "I really spend a lot of time either working with other staff or working with department heads and I really think that's a skill. There's

not a specific course you can take. I think one, you have to enjoy it and two, you have to be comfortable doing it...that's one of the things we look for."

Municipal managers have to be able to speak and write well. Large quantities of material and many reports flow over a city manager's desk daily. They require accurate absorption, distillation to summary format, and action in the form of quick and sharp decisions. The nature of the job is to grasp a number of problems and situations daily, and to be able to switch tracks from public works to personnel, from budgeting to master plans.

Political skills rank high among female and male administrators. They must understand the structure of an organization and how it operates, including where and when to push buttons. They need an awareness of the limitations on the power of the management team. They must understand how and when the political body can be influenced, directed, or even manipulated.

Some respondents describe themselves as being more political than the politicians. They have to see both sides of city matters and persuade those with voting power to agree with them on policy matters. As one female town manager in Indiana put it, "You must be the one who does the work on which others rely. You're not going to get credit in most cases, but your input is all important. This job is not one where I make the decisions, but rather it is one where I see that the decisions are made. You are secondary as far as the public is concerned but primary as far as your board is concerned."

Management skills and leadership ability, self-confidence, and personal and professional credibility are highly rated by female and male administrators as the traits needed for municipal managers. The perfect city manager is one who has established herself as a credible person whose judgment and decisions can be relied upon. She must be assertive and speak with authority. But what may be perceived as

leadership in a male city manager (e.g. aggressive) can often be seen as a negative trait in a woman's behavior (e.g. pushy).

"One thing you're going to have to be extremely careful about is to be less emotional than a male is allowed to be and more professional in your responses. Anything you say is likely to come back more quickly. Anything you say is likely to damage you much more than it would a young man. I think I have a tendency to be too outspoken. Lots of men can get away with that, but in a woman it is considered a more offensive trait," explains a female department head in Texas.

Female respondents also mention psychological and emotional components that are needed in addition to basic skills. Extra fortitude, courage, and guts are cited often.

"Just have a lot of guts. Have a support system that includes a professional component within city management and among other women professionals, and a personal one to help you over the rough spots. If you don't maintain an active and high profile professionally, you won't get the kind of input from other people that you need all along in order to maintain your perspective. It is too easy to get buried in civil service," says a female assistant to a city manager in Texas.

Another female department head in a major California city warns that women have to be tough. "You have to be able to smile and take the traumas and pretend they didn't hurt. You have to be able to be alone. You're not going to be part of the old boys club and enjoy the camaraderie and exchange information with them. You can't be one of the guys because it won't work."

The extra bit of fortitude mentioned in the female interviews may be accounted for because women not only have to compete for city management positions, but they also have to struggle with their image in a field where females are only slowly being integrated into management's mainstream.

Advice as to the best place to start a career in city administration is divided

between two alternate career paths. The first career path places a woman in a small city where she can be a part of many departments and be included in the overall management framework. The advantage for a female manager is that once she understands the operations of various departments on a small scale, those skills can be transferred to a larger arena. The disadvantages of management in a small town are lack of staff and promotional opportunities and lower salary.

The second career path places a woman in a large city. The advantage for a female administrator is that she can be assured of substantial backup in staff support and resources, challenges that will utilize her talents, better promotional opportunities, and higher salary schedules.

One comment made by both female and male administrators is that anyone interested in the field should be ready to relocate. Mobility is important in city management, with three years as the average length of tenure in one city. Relocation is a problem for males with working wives, family roots in a state, or children. For a married woman, mobility in career development is even more troublesome unless there is agreement in a dual-career marriage on the geographic marketability of both partners' skills. Wives have traditionally followed husbands wherever their career promotions and opportunities arose, with the reverse situation less often the case. In our telephone interviews, female managers frequently recognized their immobility due to their husbands' professional careers. Yet, there are also cases where the female initiated a career move, and her spouse accommodated by relocating his career. In other dual-career marriages, a major metropolitan city was targeted to allow both partners a variety of career opportunities within a reasonable commuting distance. For the single managerial woman or man working in the positions of assistant and department head, mobility poses the least problem.

PART IV: CAREER PATHS AND AMBITIONS OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

C: FUTURE AMBITIONS AND WILLINGNESS TO RELOCATE

Key Findings

1. Twenty percent of female managers did not indicate a future job preference due to indecision or retirement plans, compared with 11 percent of male managers.

2. Thirty-one percent of male respondents aspire to a CAO/CM position compared with 13 percent of female respondents. Females are more likely than males to want to stay in their present job and fewer women would seek the same job in a different or larger city.

3. The assistant and department head job categories represent the most ambitious respondents for both females and males:

   15% of female and 46% of male assistants aspire to be CAO/CM's in their next job

   15% of female and 19% of male department heads seek a CAO/CM position in their next job

4. Female municipal managers tend to be more geographically immobile than their male counterparts:

   Females report an average of 20 years residency in their community and 32 years in their state, while males report an average of 13 years in their community and 26 years in their state

5. Male managers are much more willing to relocate than their female counterparts:

   73% of males lean positively toward relocation compared with 42% of females

   42% of females lean negatively toward relocation compared with 22% of males

   Three times as many women as men said they have not made a decision on geographic relocation (17% compared with 5%)

6. Age is a critical variable on the issue of relocation. The younger the female and male manager, the more likely they are to feel positively toward relocation:

   62% of females and 81% of males aged 29 and younger would definitely or probably relocate

7. Marriage impacts heavily on whether or not a female manager favors relocation:

   27% of married females favor relocation compared with 72% of married males

   53% of married females lean negatively toward relocation compared with 23% of married males

8. Female managers with one to three children are the least likely group to favor relocation:

   50% of female managers with one child lean negatively toward a geographic move compared with 10% of male managers with one child

   46% of female managers with two to three children lean negatively toward a geographic move compared with 25% of male managers with two to three children

PART IV: CAREER PATHS AND AMBITIONS OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

C: FUTURE AMBITIONS AND WILLINGNESS TO RELOCATE

Future Job Preference

In exploring career paths, the question of future job plans was raised. Female and male managers were asked what job they would like to hold next in the future. Table 4.3 summarizes the "next job" preferences of female and male municipal managers.

TABLE 4.3: NEXT JOB WANTED BY FEMALE AND MALE MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Next Job Wanted	Municipal Managers	
	F	M
	%	%
CAO/Manager	13	31
Finance Officer	3	3
Clerk/Treasurer/Registrar	(3)	(0)
Assistant	15	11
Department Head	9	5
Federal/State Elective	(6)	(1)
Federal/State Appointive	5	(4)
Local Elective	3	(2)
Same Job	15	11
Same Job/Different City	(1)	3
Same Job/Larger City	3	8
Private Sector	8	10
Don't Know	12	5
None/Retire	8	6
Advisory/Consultant	(3)	3
Total	(266)	(189)

Twenty percent of female managers did not indicate a future job preference, explaining that they had not thought about their next job, did not know where they wanted to take their professional career, or that they planned to retire in their

present job. Eleven percent of male managers responding to this question shared these feelings about their career plans.

Elective Office as a Career Goal

We posed the career option of elective office to our telephone sample with the assumption that administrators and politicians were not similarly motivated toward public service careers. Sixty-seven percent of the males interviewed said they would not be interested in politics as a future career option with 33 percent saying they would consider it. Of the females interviewed, 62 percent found public office unattractive with 38 percent considering the career option. However, some of those females and males who might consider politics as a career, tacked qualifiers onto their positive answers: "When I retire, I might like that." "An appointive office would be nice." "If the right opportunities came along, I think I might try it."

Overall, elective office was perceived by our administrators as a highly competitive public auction block where one might have to compromise basic values and beliefs in order to win. The nominal or low salaries of most local and state public offices also turned up as a negative factor in choosing such an elective career path. The growing pressure from special interest groups, and a general loss of confidence in elected officials after national corruptions such as Watergate, are frequently mentioned as negative factors to elective office.

For the women and men who say they would consider a political career path, the lure of public office includes the power to affect real change, to be a part of policymaking, the excitement and challenge of being in the forefront rather than in the background as a staffer, and the knowledge that you are making a contribution to your government.

The private sector exerts some appeal. Eight percent of female managers and

10 percent of male managers said they would consider a move to the private sector in their next job move. Yet, despite the higher salaries of private sector jobs, female and male administrators in the telephone interviews cite job satisfaction, job security, and the pleasure of working with people to achieve and plan a better quality of community life as the pluses of municipal management.

The largest percentage of male respondents aspire to a CAO/CM position (31%) while only 13 percent of their female counterparts cite this position as their next career goal. Females are more likely than males to wish to stay in their present job (15% compared with 11% of males) and fewer women would seek the same job in a different or larger city than the one in which they are presently employed. Eleven percent of males would like to move to a different or larger city maintaining their same job category, compared with only three percent of females.

Differences in "next job" preferences occur between different age groups and job categories. For both females and males, those who wish to stay in the same job tend to be older while those who wish to move into the private sector are younger. Fifty-nine percent of females and 62 percent of males who prefer the same job are over 35. Forty-five percent of females and 69 percent of males considering the private sector are under 35.

The assistant and department head job categories represent the most ambitious respondents for both females and males. Fifteen percent of female assistants and 46 percent of male assistants aspire to be chief administrative officers. Fifteen percent of female department heads and 19 percent of male department heads would seek a top city management position in their next job. Females in both of these job categories are more likely than their male counterparts to want to stay in the same job of assistant (30%) and department head (29%) in their next job move. Only 20 percent of male assistants and 19 percent of male department heads would prefer to stay in the same job category in their next step along their career path.

The "next job" preferences of female and male clerk/treasurer/registrars differ sharply. Four of nine male clerks aspire to become city managers compared with seven percent of female clerks. Twenty-seven percent of female clerks say they want to remain clerks while none of the male clerks make this statement. Another 27 percent of female clerks say they have no future job plans or that they will retire compared with only one male clerk.

While female and male CAO/CM's are almost equally likely to want a manager's post in their next job position, males are twice as likely as females to want a managerial position in a different and larger city.

Length of Time in Community and State

Female and male managers among our respondents do not move from state to state, despite the mobility factor often associated with careers in municipal management. Job changes are frequently within the same state, often the same community. The mean length of time female managers have lived in their communities is 20 years; in their state 32 years, compared with male managers who average 13 years of residency in their community and 26 years in their state. Of those municipal managers reporting the states in which their past three jobs were located, females are likely to report fewer interstate moves than their male counterparts. However, the majority of both female and male managers report no interstate movement within their last three jobs (72% of females and 57% of males). Seventeen percent of females and 26 percent of males report one interstate move out of three job changes, while 10 percent of females and 14 percent of males report two interstate moves. For the highest level of mobility, only one female out of more than 100 reported an out-of-state move with each new job, compared with four percent of males.

While geographic stability is the norm among female and male managers in our

sample, men are more likely than women to have shorter residency in the community or the state regardless of job category. Forty-one percent of male CAO/CM's have lived in their city four years or less compared with 17 percent of female CAO/CM's. No female CAO/CM's have lived in their state for less than four years while 18 percent of their male counterparts have. The majority of female city managers and chief administrative officers (43%) have lived in their community for 25 years or more and 75 percent have lived in their state for 25 years or more. Only 22 percent of male CAO/CM's have lived in their community for 25 years or more and 53 percent have lived in their state for this length of time (25 years and over).

The residency profile of clerk/treasurer/registrar closely parallels the CAO/CM job category. Ninety percent of female clerks have lived in their state for 25 years or more and 70 percent have lived in their community at least a quarter of a century. Only three of 10 male clerks have lived in their towns for 25 years or more and five of 10 male clerks have lived in their state for the same period of time.

In contrast to the geographic and community stability of clerks and managers, the job categories of assistant and department head show considerable diversity, with more female and male managers living in their towns and cities for shorter time periods. Among female assistants, 57 percent have lived in their community for nine years or less and 23 percent have lived in their state for nine years or less. Seventy-five percent of male assistants have resided in their cities for nine years or less and 23 percent have resided in their state for nine years or less. Department heads, both female and male, show similar community residency patterns with 58 percent of females and 59 percent of males living in their town for nine years or less. Male department heads show a greater tendency to move from state to state. Thirty-two percent of male department heads have lived in their state for nine years or less compared with 12 percent of female department heads. In summary, regardless

of job category, males are more likely than females to be mobile and have shorter periods of residency in both their communities and states. However, female assistants and department heads come closest to resembling the residency patterns of their male counterparts.

Willingness to Relocate

Sharp differences are found between female and male managers when the question of relocation is raised. We asked municipal managers if they would relocate geographically if a more rewarding job opportunity arose. Overall, men were much more willing to relocate than their female colleagues. Seventy-three percent of male managers said they would definitely or probably relocate compared with 42 percent of female managers who leaned positively toward relocating. Forty-two percent of female managers lean negatively against relocating while only 22 percent of male managers say they would definitely or probably not relocate. More than three times as many women as men said they have not made a decision about a geographic relocation, 17 percent as compared to five percent.

Looking at the issue of mobility by job category, assistants and department heads are more willing to relocate than any other group of public administrators. Fifty percent of female assistants and 50 percent of female department heads lean favorably toward relocation as compared with 80 percent of male assistants and 76 percent of male department heads. Clearly the assistant and department head job categories are mobile, career oriented tracks for both females and males where the majority of job holders set their career sights on a CAO or city manager position. Within the other municipal management categories, men are more inclined to favor geographic change than their female counterparts.

Age and Mobility

Age has a definite impact on whether or not a municipal manager would be willing to relocate geographically. As Table 4.4 indicates, the largest percentages of both female and male managers who would either definitely or probably relocate in order to advance their career fall into the younger age group (39 and under).

TABLE 4.4: WILLINGNESS TO RELOCATE BY AGE OF FEMALE AND MALE MUNICIPAL MANAGER

Would you relocate geographically if a more rewarding job opportunity arose?	Age (yrs)									
	29 & under		30-39		40-49		50-59		60 & over	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Definitely	38	57	26	42	13	12	11	21	10	10
Probably	24	24	25	44	20	42	18	28	14	30
Probably Not	25	7	22	9	28	33	32	24	24	10
Definitely Not	6	6	4	2	16	3	23	24	41	40
Don't Know	7	6	22	3	23	9	16	3	10	10
Total	(71)	(54)	(95)	(89)	(75)	(33)	(91)	(29)	(29)	(10)

Sixty-two percent of female managers and 81 percent of male managers aged 29 and younger would definitely or probably relocate. For females, as age increases, the willingness to relocate declines. While the pattern is similar for males, an interesting difference appears in the 30-39 age category. Although they are less decisive than younger males, male managers in their thirties are more likely than males in any other age group to favor relocation (86%). Clearly, male managers in their thirties are career conscious and ready to move. Within this age group, 45 percent of our male respondents are assistants and another 25 percent are CAO/CM's. As assistants begin to move into higher level positions, often toward a city manager post, mobility is an important prerequisite. In comparison, three-quarters of the females in this age

group (30-39) are assistants (50%) and department heads (25%) and the majority of them (51%) are willing to relocate.

Among female and male managers aged 29 and under, the vast majority would be willing to relocate and very few express doubts as indicated by the low percentage of "don't know" responses. Yet for females between the ages of 30 and 49, indecisiveness on the question of relocation is an important factor. Close to a quarter of the females in this age group express doubts about relocation. Perhaps spousal considerations family concerns, and community roots complicate the relocation possibilities for a woman once she reaches 30 years of age. It is probable that those managers aged 29 and younger are less likely to be married or to have started a family and, as a result, relocation does not present as many problems.

Marital Status and Mobility

Marriage also has a definite impact on whether a female manager is favorably or negatively disposed toward relocation. Only 27 percent of married females favor relocation, yet 72 percent of married males lean positively toward geographic relocation. Fifty-three percent of married females say they would probably or definitely not consider relocation and another 20 percent are indecisive on the issue. Twenty-three percent of married males lean negatively toward relocation and only six percent are indecisive on the issue. If a female manager is divorced or single, she is more likely to be positive toward the idea of relocation. Seventy percent of divorced and 65 percent of single women favor relocation compared with 88 percent of divorced and 80 percent of single men. Regardless of marital status, males are far more willing than females to relocate.

Family and Mobility

Gender differences also appear when we analyze willingness to relocate among

female and male managers by the number of children they have. Females with one to three children are the municipal managers least likely to favor relocation. Fifty percent of female managers with one child say they would probably not or definitely not relocate compared with 10 percent of male managers. Eleven percent of females with one child are indecisive about relocation. Among female managers with two to three children, 46 percent lean negatively toward relocation compared with 25 percent of male managers with two to three children. Twenty-three percent of females with two to three children are indecisive about a geographic move while only nine percent of their male counterparts share these doubts. Even among the municipal managers who report having no children, more than three-quarters of the males favor relocation while half of the females react positively toward geographic mobility.

Telephone Interviews and Future Job Plans

A series of questions on future job plans and the issue of relocation was posed to female and male administrators in the telephone interviews.

Four reasons emerge to explain why women and men in our public administration telephone sample deliberately choose to stay and manage a small town versus relocation to a large community:

- roots in the community, area, or state
- satisfaction in being able to get involved in the nitty-gritty of management in a smaller community
- headaches, hassles, and unmanageability of large city administration
- spouse's career and/or children

Some of our administrators have gone so far as to interview and be chosen for a position with a larger city at more pay. They backed out of relocating in the final decision-making moment because of a commitment to an area and the feeling that they can improve the quality of life in their home states.

Male managers more often than female managers mention the rewards of being involved in the day-to-day operations of a small town. "The rewards are immediate. You either fix the pothole or you don't. You either pick up the garbage or you don't. The closeness is gratifying and you can have some affect in the actual planning of an area for many years in the future. You can help to make a town a viable place with a decent quality of life for its citizens," explains a male village manager from Florida.

Perhaps the strongest reason against moving to a large city is the "unmanageability" of urban centers from the city manager's point of view. As Part II of this report documents, 93 percent of female and 95 percent of male CAO/CM respondents are working in towns of 39,000 population and under. Social welfare problems, politics, huge bureaucracies, and the fear of major corruption or controversy that will be dramatized through the media--all combine to make city management in an urban environment a negative career option.

"I'm interested in a city of not over 30,000 population, near a metropolitan center so I would have access to the amenities and a good university," says a male city manager from Kansas. "I want a fighting chance to live a fairly normal life with my family instead of a fishbowl existence."

Another male administrative aide in Virginia sees a new career pattern developing where managers are appointed within the same region. "There used to be a lot of going back and forth across the country. Now I see more relocation within region. Boards and councils feel a little more comfortable if they have somebody whom they think is familiar with the state, its laws and politics, rather than a total outsider."

Although relocation poses more of a problem for a female manager than a male manager when she is married and has children, men are not immune from mobility dilemmas. A male city manager from Ohio describes a family situation where his wife grew up an

"itinerant" and claimed that when she married, she would be geographicaly stable. His city management career involved seven moves within their 12 year marriage. "Right now my daughter is eight and in a gifted class at school. We may have to move into a community with no such program. Now my wife and four children are a prime consideration," he says.

Women mention spouses' careers and fixed job positions and the problems of uprooting youngsters from school to school. "It is easier if you're single and in city management," states a female assistant city manager from California.

In summary, on the question of relocation, age heavily influences a respondent's willingness to relocate. The younger the municipal manager, the more likely she/he is to favor relocation. To a lesser degree, marriage and the presence or absence of children affects female managers more than it does male managers. Married female managers with children are less favorable toward geographic mobility and are increasingly indecisive about relocation. Marriage and children barely affect a male manager's willingness to consider relocation. Overall, men are overwhelmingly willing to relocate, while women are less likely to consider relocation. Population of the community of a manager has very little effect on a manager's willingness to relocate. It might be hypothesized that managers of large cities are more likely to be mobile, to follow the best career opportunities whenever they occur. It is also possible to make a case for the reverse situation, that administrators of small cities would want to move up to larger cities. Neither pattern is apparent.

PART V: ON THE JOB--STAFF RESPONSIBILITIES AND PERCEPTIONS OF POWER

Key Findings

1. Female municipal managers report working an average of 46 hours a week, while male managers report working 50 hours a week.

2. Although female and male managers are equally likely to serve on a board or commission as part of their job responsibility, women are only slightly more likely than men to serve on human service boards and are less likely than men to serve on planning and zoning boards.

3. Male managers report supervising larger staffs than their female counterparts:

   44% of male managers compared with 25% of female managers supervise a staff of 10 or more people

   Average number of persons supervised is 17 for women and 49 for men

4. Women in municipal management are much more likely to manage an all-female staff than their male colleagues:

   51% of females compared with 19% of males report managing an all-female staff

   75% of female clerk/treasurer/registrars, 54% of female finance officers, and 53% of female assistants report no males on their staffs

5. Female municipal managers are just as likely as male managers to manage full-time staff rather than part-time staff.

6. Female managers are more likely than male managers to report that all of the department heads in their towns are female. Male managers are more likely than female managers to report no female department heads:

   31% of female managers compared with 17% of male managers report that all of the department heads in their towns are female

   44% of male managers compared with 27% of female managers report that there are no female department heads in the cities in which they work

7. Female and male managers mention bureaucratic red tape, constituency criticism, long hours, lack of time for long-range planning, and political dominance by the political governing body as unexpected drawbacks to their job performance.

8. Female managers interviewed by telephone perceive their male colleagues as territorial, more willing to take risks, more technically oriented, better able to delegate to subordinates, and more likely to tinker in the day-to-day working of a specific department.

9. Male managers interviewed by telephone perceive their female colleagues as "participatory managers" who include the input of other people into their decision making, are tactful and diplomatic in smoothing tense situations, are more empathetic to employee and citizen problems, are better able to give attention to details, and are less able to delegate to subordinates.

10. Seventy-nine percent of female managers and 90 percent of male managers report making recommendations to their governing bodies. Overall, both female and male managers feel efficacious, believe that their recommendations are followed most of the time, and if their recommendations were initially rejected--at least half the time they would eventually be accepted by their governing body.

11. For female municipal managers the environment most conducive to a sense of efficacy is the small town of 9,000 and under population and the large city of 100,000 and over. Male managers feel the most confident of securing policy agreement in the small towns and in cities of between 10,000 and 39,000 population.

12. While the council/manager form of government was designed to promote managerial expertise, both female and male managers in mayor/council cities are more likely to make recommendations and bring about acquiescence when there is a policy disagreement with the governing body:

    83% of female and 100% of male managers in mayor/council cities report making recommendations to their governing body compared with 76% of female and 87% of males in council/manager cities

13. Female clerk/treasurer/registrars are more likely than their male colleagues to serve in towns of 9,000 and under population, to be older, to not hold a college degree or have served an internship, and to earn less money:

    37% of female clerks work in towns of 9,000 and under compared with one of 11 of male clerks in our sample

    No male clerks reported their age as 50 or older compared with 60% of female clerks who were in this age category

    92% of female clerks do not hold a Bachelor's degree compared with two of 10 male clerks

    Three of 10 male clerks earn between $20,000 and $29,000 compared with 15% of female clerks

PART V: SUPERVISORY RESPONSIBILITIES AND SELF-PERCEPTIONS OF POWER

The functions of municipal managers include planning, budgeting, financial management systems, policy development, personnel, and internal and external public relations. In short, managers direct the day-to-day business of local government. In our survey and telephone interviews we asked how many hours the job entailed, the extent and dimensions of staff supervision, unexpected drawbacks to job performance, whether female and male managers perceived differences in management styles between the sexes, and self-perceptions of efficacy and personal power.

City management is a career field where work hours stretch beyond the average 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. work day. Evening council meetings, representing the political body before citizen groups and organizations, and serving as liaison to local boards and commissions extends the 40 hour work week for most female and male managers. The average number of hours worked weekly was 46 hours for women and 50 hours for men. Only eight percent of female respondents and two percent of male respondents reported working less than a 40 hour week. Yet, approximately half of male managers (51%) report working between 50 to 59 hours a week compared with 27 percent of female managers. Over half of female managers (54%) report spending 40 to 49 hours on their job or in job-related activities compared with 32 percent of male managers. Being on call 24 hours a day, seven days a week for citizen demands and meeting unexpected crises such as a hurricane or crippling snowstorm is an accepted fact of a municipal manager's life.

A male town manager in Maine who had just submitted a federal disaster funding request for assistance as a result of a devastating February snowstorm advised, "If you don't want to burn the midnight oil, if you don't want to work weekends, if you don't want to answer a lot of calls at home, don't take this type of job."

Serving on Committees, Boards, and Commissions as Part of a Municipal Manager's Job

We asked managers whether they hold or have held membership on any committees, boards, or commissions as part of their job responsibilities. Forty-four percent of females and 46 percent of males reported serving on at least one committee, board, or commission as part of their job. There is little variation between women and men when it comes to the number of boards on which they serve. Forty-eight percent of women and 47 percent of men list one committee, board, or commission, and 28 percent of women and 30 percent of men list two. Thirteen percent of women list three boards, compared with 14 percent of men.

Limited gender differences do occur in the types of committees, boards, and commissions listed by respondents. Female managers are less likely than males to serve on planning, zoning, or housing boards (31% of females compared with 55% of males). However, female and male managers are equally likely to serve on finance, capital growth, or insurance boards (33% of females and 34% of males). And women are only slightly more likely than men to be members of human service boards (19% of women and 14% of men).

Rather than reflecting sex stereotyping, service on committees, boards and commissions in municipal government more likely reflects differing job roles and responsibilities. For example, among female and male finance officers, finance boards and committees rank first in service. Female and male assistants rank planning boards highest, followed by service on municipal study boards such as government operations task force and code revision committees. And while female and male department heads report serving on planning and government study committees, their specialized technical expertise is apparent in listings of departmental, substantive areas such as human services, and recreation. The overall planning, staffing and budget responsibilities

of city managers is evidenced by their participation on key municipal boards and committees. Female and male CAO/CM's in the study list planning, personnel, and finance among the top three boards and commissions they service.

Staff Management

A critical aspect of city administration is supervisory responsibility and managing a staff. We asked female and male municipal managers if they supervised a staff. If the answer was yes, they reported the total number of persons, both full- and part-time and provided a gender breakdown of the number of female and male employees. Staff management was analyzed by four variables: job category, population, geographic region, and form of government. We expected CAO/CM's in the Central and in the Mountain/Pacific region serving in medium to large sized cities governed under the council/manager format to have the largest staffs.

Eighty percent of female and 88 percent of male municipal managers reported that they managed a staff. The males in our sample manage larger staffs than their female counterparts. For example, 44 percent of male managers report supervising a staff of 10 or more people compared with 25 percent of female managers. The average number of persons supervised by female managers is 17 while for male managers it is 49.

As would be expected and as Table 5.1 demonstrates, CAO/CM's supervise the largest staffs among both female and male municipal managers, followed by department heads, finance officers, assistants, and clerk/treasurer/registrars. The smallest staffs supervised by female and male managers are in the Central and Mountain/Pacific regions. Female and male managers in the Southern region report the largest staffs (28% of women and 33% of men manage staffs of between 10 and 29 persons). Female and male respondents in cities of 10,000 to 99,000 population reported managing the largest staffs.

TABLE 5.1: SIZE OF STAFF SUPERVISED BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' JOB CATEGORY

Staff Size	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg.		Assistant		Department Head	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
1 - 4	14	12	48	26	50	(3)	63	41	42	(6)
5 - 9	21	16	30	57	40	(2)	24	25	13	(2)
10 - 29	34	21	21	11	10	(6)	10	22	29	(5)
30 - 49	10	7	0	6	0	0	(1)	(1)	0	(1)
50 - 99	10	18	(1)	0	0	0	(2)	3	0	(2)
100 & over	10	26	0	0	0	0	0	9	16	0
Total	(29)	(57)	(86)	(35)	(50)	(11)	(81)	(69)	(45)	(16)

Surprisingly, form of government did not affect size of staff supervision. Similar proportions of female and male managers reported supervising personnel within the six staff size ranges regardless of whether they served in mayor/council or council/manager governments. For example, 17 percent of women report managing a staff of between 10 and 29 persons in mayor/council cities compared with 19 percent of women in council/manager cities. And 24 percent of male managers report supervising a staff of between 10 and 29 persons in mayor/council cities compared with 22 percent in council/manager towns.

Sex Segregation in Staff Management

One of our most striking findings is that women in management are much more likely to manage an all-female staff than their male counterparts. Fifty-one percent of female managers report all-female staffs, compared with 19 percent of male managers. Part of the explanation lies in the fact that women hold the vast majority of clerical and secretarial positions in this nation. As Table 5.2 indicates, only six women among our female respondents and three percent of male respondents report managing an all-male staff.

TABLE 5.2: PERCENT OF MALES ON STAFF BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Males on Staff (%)	Municipal Managers	
	F %	M %
Zero	51	19
1 - 9	(7)	(3)
10 - 24	9	10
25 - 49	17	21
50 - 74	12	25
75 - 99	7	20
100	(6)	3
Total	(284)	(180)

The 1975 Manpower report of the President revealed that more women were working in the lower-paying service, blue collar and clerical positions and fewer in the professional and managerial positions in 1972 than in either 1950 or 1960. Statistics from the 1970 census showed that 50 percent of working women were in clerical jobs while less than five percent were in managerial and administrative positions. Another study, The 1973 Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, found that the two lowest paying job categories--office and clerical, and para-professional--were overwhelmingly female (85% and 65%).

The staff segregation uncovered in this study appears to be job specific. The female municipal managers who have predominantly female staffs are clerks, finance officers, and assistants. Seventy-five percent of female clerks, 54 percent of female finance officers and 53 percent of female assistants have no males on staff. Males in each of these job categories are much more likely than their female counterparts to have sexually integrated staffs.

Population size does not impact on the likelihood of having a sexually segregated staff, nor does form of government. It is more likely that this finding is a

reflection of traditional female occupational roles and age-old sex stereotyping that resulted in a significant cluster of working women filling secretarial and support positions.

TABLE 5.3: PERCENT OF FULL-TIME STAFF BY JOB CATEGORY

Full-Time Staff (%)	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg.		Assistant		Department Head	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Zero	(0)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(0)	3	8	5	(0)
1 - 9	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)
10 - 24	4	4	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
25 - 49	7	8	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)	3	3	5	(0)
50 - 74	29	12	15	22	14	(C)	16	19	12	(!)
75 - 99	29	43	22	22	25	(5)	15	17	14	(0)
100	32	33	59	56	57	(6)	63	52	63	(13)
Total	(28)	(51)	(85)	(32)	(49)	(11)	(73)	(63)	(43)	(14)

As Table 5.3 indicates, female managers were just as likely as male managers to have full-time staff under their supervision. Overall, 58 percent of female managers reported that their entire staff was full time compared with 51 percent of male managers.

Both female and male managers in towns with populations of 9,000 and under were the most likely not to have full-time staff.

Percentage of Female Department Heads

Municipal managers were asked how many department heads there were in their cities and how many of these positions were filled by women. Forty-four percent of male managers report that there are no female department heads in the cities in which they work, compared with only 27 percent of female managers who report no women heading municipal departments. Almost double the percentage of female managers (31%) said

that all of the department heads in their towns were women compared with 17 percent of male managers. This greater likelihood for female managers to report more female department heads in their towns than male managers suggests some explanations. One explanation is that the all-female department head situations could be occurring in relatively small towns where staffs are limited and women perform traditional finance officer and clerk/treasurer/registrar functions.

TABLE 5.4: PERCENT OF DEPARTMENT HEADS WHO ARE FEMALE BY COMMUNITY POPULATION

Department Heads Who Are Female (%)	Community Population (to the nearest thousand)							
	9 & under		10 - 39		40 - 99		100 & over	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Zero	28	49	24	51	33	26	27	(4)
1 - 24	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
25 - 49	3	4	7	8	27	13	33	(9)
50 - 74	8	24	33	22	22	52	33	(5)
75 - 99	(0)	(0)	(4)	2	(1)	(0)	8	(0)
100	61	24	34	18	16	10	(0)	(1)
Total	(64)	(51)	(161)	(101)	(45)	(31)	(49)	(19)

As Table 5.4 summarizes above, the smaller the town, the more likely it is to have an all-female department head staff. As population size increases, the chances of a predominantly female department head staff declines.

While it appears that population affects the likelihood of having female department heads, it is also probable that the presence of women in administrative and managerial positions can increase the chances of hiring and recruitment for other managerial women. The presence of managerial women at the local level was mentioned frequently in the telephone interviews. Once a female manager joined an all-male team, women and men felt it opened the door for other administrative women to follow.

Unexpected Drawbacks to a Municipal Manager's Job

Managing the cities in the 1980s means providing a multitude of intergovernmental programs and meeting citizen demands in addition to delivering services directly to individuals, families and neighborhoods. The tremendous diversity of local units of government make generalizations about local government administration difficult. From the large urban cities like Detroit and Newark, to the sprawling suburbs of a Los Angeles or Atlanta, to the rural span of Blue Earth County in Minnesota, the challenges change. Yet, there are unanticipated tasks on the job, challenges to the profession, and roles that women and men in city management fill basic to the profession regardless of the size and complexity of the local governmental unit.

One of our questions on the telephone survey tapped some surprising responses about how female and male administrators envisioned their role before they started working and what it was like after they assumed the position.

Forty-six percent of the female administrators and 65 percent of the male administrators who were interviewed felt that their jobs held some components that they had not anticipated. First among the unexpected problems cited by both females and males was the rapid pace of municipal management and the heavy demands beyond the regular 40 hour workweek. Another problem which many female and male managers did not anticipate is the immediacy of public reaction to decisions, which renders managers "naked on the front line" of constituency criticism. Female managers next mentioned the bureaucratic red tape which hinders progress and ties up projects for months at a time. Males cited unexpected limits on their power and job responsibilities, due to either administrative restraint by mayor or council, a bureaucratic structure which dilutes power, or a political climate which ties the hands of municipal managers.

The frustrations of the job seem to cross gender lines with both females and males discouraged about cutting through red tape or pushing a contrary political body

to see the professional light of day. A female assistant city manager from Florida puts it this way, "I thought it would be like running a large business and that I could accomplish things. Here, every type of program that you want to implement, you not only have to set it up technically and professionally, but you also have to sell it politically."

A male town manager in Maine says, "My preconceived notions were that the council wanted a person to come in here and run the ship--manager, policymaker, overall head of administration--commander of the helm. The difference is that I found the council is not willing to give up the throne. Over the years, even though the charter says that this is a very strong managerial community, they have not yet been willing to let the manager perform in that mode."

Of those female and male municipal managers interviewed who had been assistants before being promoted into a city manager post--the "front line" aspect of decision making was a common point of reference. An assistant is buffered by the manager's office. But once one assumes the top administrative post, the lines come down and the responsibility between council directives and managerial implementation rests squarely on the shoulders of the CAO/CM. Turn around time is quick between a crisis in the city and a response to meet the need, resulting in what managers refer to as "quick and dirty" studies of problems, tightly written memos with alternatives, and strategies for action that have built-in bottom line budgets. "I don't like that kind of a trigger response to problems, but often that is all you have time for. The long-range, extensive research opportunities are few and far between," says a female management assistant from Arizona.

If the community is small or a clerk-treasurer is at the helm, a different set of frustrations seem to operate. "I am jack-of-all-trades and master-of-none, but I manage to spend all my time putting out fires," says a male city administrator from

Alabama. "We are small, understaffed, and underfinanced. We are never ahead of what we need to do but we keep at it, step-by-step. This year, what I consider a real accomplishment is getting it across to the council that we must have a good maintenance program for all our vehicles."

A female city administrator from Oregon echoes his problem. "Everytime I open a file drawer or a closet, there are surprises. There is no understanding here of the state laws that mandate compliance from us. We weren't holding legal public hearings on any of the programs that demanded them. I threw out the bookkeeping system, I established the planning department, updated our ordinances, worked step-by-step to bring this town into the 20th century."

As smaller cities grow in population, as they connect closely with federal and state mandates and programs, the responsibilities of public administration expand, making the job more demanding and time-consuming, and introducing clerk-treasurers to the red tape of larger bureaucracies.

Differences Between Women and Men in Management Styles

One of the frequently voiced opinions about female municipal managers is that they are different than male municipal managers. Hennig and Jardim theorize in The Managerial Woman that because of early socialization patterns of growing up female and male, women and men develop different management styles as they respond to day-to-day management situations.[9] They believe that different orientations, expectations, aspirations and experiences between women and men translate into distinct managerial styles. We examined the question of gender differences in municipal management styles in the telephone interviews we conducted. In the phone interviews we asked: In what ways, if any, do you think women and men perform differently in municipal management positions?

Our telephone sample split almost evenly on those administrators who believe there is a gender-based difference in managerial style and those individuals who believe there is no difference other than the stereotyped image that allows men to behave a certain way and restricts women from behaving the same way.

Many of the differences in perceptions of management styles among our female and male administrators are the result of societal sex stereotyping. People believe that women are more sensitive, more intuitive, and more empathetic than men, and the image perpetuates itself even in the management realm.

One of the most frequent observations that crosses gender lines sees women managers as more inclined to ask other people's opinions before making a decision--a participatory management style. This administrative pattern can make a woman manager look indecisive. Women are also perceived as frequently making decisions within the formal organizational structure such as in the office, at meetings, and through memos. There seems to be less reliance on the informal association with colleagues and the after work relationships that men use for the purpose of channeling decisions.

Other female administrators in states from Maine to Indiana believe men take more risks than women managers. Female managers seem to be more cautious, wanting to be absolutely sure of their groundwork before they will take action. "People are used to seeing a male take charge. A man can go out there and take a shot, because he is not watched as critically as a woman is. A woman has to prove herself," explains an assistant city manager in Florida.

Among the traits mentioned by female and male administrators characterizing the female manager are: tact and diplomacy in smoothing tense situations; sensitivity to the moods of people; more attention to detail; willingness to spend time on staff morale; more concern about personal employee relationships; less of an ability to delegate.

A female director of finance from Louisiana admits, "I don't think I will ever be able to say to someone, 'go and get me a cup of coffee.' I find myself spending the time to xerox and type a memo. It is one of my weakest areas, I could be more efficient if I let someone else handle the routine." A town clerk-treasurer from Indiana noted that most of the clerk-treasurer positions in the state are held by women because, "We can deal with the tedious work."

Women administrators interviewed by telephone perceive their male colleagues as territorial, willing to take risks, more technically oriented, delegating work to subordinates, and more willing to tinker in the workings of a specific department.

A female finance director from North Carolina says, "I think women are more concerned with doing a high-level job than some men are, because it is a factor for their very survival. They can't afford to make a mistake." Similar sentiments are expressed by other female administrators around the nation. A female assistant to a California city manager states, "I think men are more willing to make mistakes. They feel more secure and that reflects the way they treat other personnel. Women delegate less. I think they are afraid to let go, while men don't feel threatened, so it's easier for them to share and give up control."

The more relaxed, personal, and empathetic managerial style that is noted among some of our female interviewees also has its drawbacks. A mid-western department head watched herself "mother" her staff, sympathizing with their problems and clucking over their misfortunes. If a sympathetic female manager lends an ear to an employee's personal problems, she may have difficulty forgetting those problems in the future. The employee's vulnerability has peeled through the employee-department head veneer. Distance among colleagues may be a necessary ingredient in the managerial relationship.

"I think many women tend to perform the way I do because it's been their background, particularly the women who come out of marriage and childraising situations.

You learn how not to upset people, how to stroke their egos when it is needed," explains a New York female department head.

One final idea that finds itself expressed differently among female and male administrators is the concept of team management. The definition of "team" changes by gender. When women administrators talk about team, they come from a staff perspective of doing whatever it takes to get the whole job done, even to the point of taking on more than they can realistically tackle. When male managers talk about team, they talk of a specific leadership role performing a specific task. If each link in the performance chain covers its task, the overall goal is achieved. If one department fails, the problem does not rub off on a successful manager who performed his part of the task.

Self-Perceptions of Efficacy and Power

An important aspect of a person's job experience is her/his sense of efficacy, achievement and accomplishment. Female and male municipal managers were asked if they made recommendations to their governing body and whether or not their recommendations were followed. Seventy-nine percent of female managers and 90 percent of male managers report making recommendations to their governing bodies. Table 5.5 summarizes female and male responses as to whether they make recommendations and how often those recommendations are followed.

One hundred percent of both female and male CAO/CM's make recommendations to their governing bodies and 93 percent of the time those recommendations are followed nearly always or most of the time. Finance officers and department heads are the next likely occupational groups to make recommendations frequently and have them seriously considered and followed, with assistants and clerk/treasurer/registrars ranking behind them.

TABLE 5.5: RECOMMENDATIONS TO GOVERNING BODY BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' JOB CATEGORY

Do you make recommendations to your governing body?	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg.		Assistant		Department Head	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Yes	100	100	83	97	71	(11)	72	82	88	(14)
No	(0)	(0)	17	3	29	(0)	28	18	12	(3)
Total	(30)	(59)	(95)	(37)	(59)	(11)	(132)	(93)	(49)	(17)
Are your recommendations followed?										
Nearly Always	43	50	30	42	24	(4)	39	37	55	(3)
Most of the time	50	43	49	56	64	(6)	42	51	35	(9)
Half the time	3	3	8	3	7	(1)	10	7	8	(2)
Less than half the time	3	3	13	(0)	5	(0)	9	5	3	(0)
Total	(30)	(58)	(77)	(36)	(42)	(11)	(90)	(75)	(40)	(14)

In addition, female and male managers were asked to indicate what would happen in the event of an initial disagreement over policy recommendations made to the governing body. Across all job categories, if a municipal manager's recommendations were initially rejected, the majority said that at least half the time the governing body would come to agree with them. Only 17 percent of female and male finance officers, and 13 percent of female and 19 percent of male assistants, reported that resolution to a policy disagreement with their governing body occurs less than 50 percent of the time.

Effect of Population, Region, and Form of Government on Administrator's Sense of Personal Efficacy

For female municipal managers, the environments most conducive to high activity in making recommendations to governing bodies are the small towns with 9,000 and under population, and the large cities with 100,000 and over population. Male managers are most active in making recommendations, and are most likely to feel that their recommendations are followed in towns with 9,000 and under populations, and mid-range populations of 10,000-39,000. If initial policy disagreement occurs, 65 percent of these female administrators in small towns say they can swing their councils around at least most of the time to their point of view. In the large cities of 100,000 population and over, 67 percent of these women can swing their council around at least most of the time after an initial policy disagreement. Males, however, are more likely to feel efficacious in policy disagreements in cities with populations of 40,000-99,000, and populations of 100,000 and over.

When we analyze recommendations to the governing body by the variable of geographic region, the Mountain/Pacific and Eastern regions of the nation appear as the most receptive areas to administrator's policy recommendations. More than 90 percent of males in both of these two regions report making recommendations to their political bodies and having their recommendations followed at least most of the time. And, more than 55 percent in each region say that they are able to sway policy decisions after initial disagreement with their council at least half of the time.

More than 85 percent of female managers in the Mountain/Pacific region and 82 percent of females in the Eastern region report making recommendations to their governing bodies and having their recommendations followed at least most of the time. And, 55 percent of females in the Mountain/Pacific region and 67 percent of those in the Eastern region report that they are able to successfully influence their governing boards after policy disagreements at least most of the time.

The population density on the East and West coasts may account for the fact that municipal managers, both female and male, feel most confident in making policy initiatives, swaying the council, and bringing the political body around to the managerial point of view. The complex, technical, and social services types of daily decision-making associated with more densely populated areas may dictate a heavier reliance on professional staff and may be reflected in the regional differences.

It is surprising to find that female and male managers are more likely to make recommendations to their governing bodies and are able to bring about acquiescence when there is a policy disagreement in mayor/council cities than in council/manager cities. While the council/manager form of government was designed to promote government by management expertise, 76 percent of females in council/manager cities report making policy recommendations compared with 83 percent in mayor/council cities. Eighty-seven percent of male managers in council/manager cities report making recommendations compared with 100 percent of male managers in mayor/council cities. Fifty-three percent of female managers in council/manager cities compared with 62 percent in mayor/council cities, report success at least most of the time in swaying their governing boards in the event of a policy disagreement. And, 46 percent of males in council/manager cities compared with 63 percent of males in mayor/council cities say that their governing bodies eventually agree with them at least most of the time in policy disagreements.

The Hidden Level of Management

Throughout this report, we have termed the clerk/treasurer/registrars among our respondents as serving in "the hidden level of management." These female and male city clerks and clerk-treasurers are performing varied administrative duties, and in many instances are de facto CAO/CM's. They are not, however, trained as city managers

nor do they identify themselves as managerial officials.

There are 60 female and 11 male clerk/treasurer/registrars among our respondents.* The majority are from small towns. Thirty-seven percent of female clerks and only one male clerk serve in towns of 9,000 population and under. Sixty-two percent of the females serve in towns of 10,000 to 39,000 population, compared with 10 out of 11 male clerks.

While there are city clerk/treasurer/registrar respondents all over the country, they predominate in the Central and Southern regions of the United States. Sixty-seven percent of female clerks and six of 10 male clerks are serving in these two regions. The rest are serving in the Eastern region (22% of female clerks) and are least likely to be located in the Mountain/Pacific region.

Female clerks are older than respondents in any other job category. Sixty percent of them are aged 50 and older and only seven percent are between the ages of 20-29. This is not the case for male clerks, the majority of whom fall into the age bracket of 30-39 (6 of 10).

Female clerk/treasurer/registrars are the least likely group surveyed to hold a college degree or have experienced an internship. Ninety-two percent of female clerks report less than a Bachelor's degree. Yet, they are avid workshop attendants with over 75 percent listing workshops they have attended. The educational profile of male clerks contrasts sharply with their female counterparts. Six out of nine report holding a Bachelor's degree and only two male clerks report less formal education than a Bachelor's degree. In addition, one male clerk reports holding a Master's degree.

*While the number of male clerks is too small to generalize to the total population, the female clerks represent a diverse sample that allows us to construct an occupational profile. The female and male comparisons that follow are often in stark contrast, yet the male responses cannot be taken as statistically representative. However, they may reflect gender differences within this job category. We do know that females represent 61% of this occupational category according to the 1979 Municipal Year Book, while males comprise 39% of clerks nationwide. This occupational category for females represents 3,710 women, the largest number of females in any municipal management position surveyed by ICMA in 1979.

Most of the clerks in this study are functioning as chief administrative officers. The majority of both female and male clerks report directly to elected officials. They virtually all manage staffs, yet their staffs are predominantly small (from 1 to 9 people). Ninety percent of female clerks have staffs of between one and nine persons compared with five of 11 male clerks. The staffs are also overwhelmingly female. Seventy-five percent of female clerks supervise an all-female staff, while their male colleagues are more likely to supervise larger, gender integrated staffs.

The clerk/treasurer/registrars are no more or less active on boards than the rest of the sample. Female clerks are somewhat less likely than females in any other category to make recommendations to their governing bodies. Seventy-one percent of female clerks report making recommendations, compared with 100 percent of female managers, 88 percent of female department heads and 83 percent of female finance officers. While their recommendations are followed most of the time, they were considerably less likely than other officials to report that their recommendations were followed nearly always. Their position is, in fact, rather anomalous. They serve the council, report to officeholders and, in fact, perform many administrative duties using their staffs, yet are relatively hesitant to make policy recommendations and are less confident of acceptance. In contrast, all the male clerks report making recommendations to their governing bodies and 10 out of 11 clerks say their recommendations are followed most of the time. In general, clerks lead the job categories in reporting no disagreements with their governing bodies.

Just as female and male clerks differ in their educational backgrounds, size and gender of staffs supervised and how often they made recommendations to their governing body, they differ on the salaries they earn for performing their jobs. Twelve percent of female clerks report salaries of $9,000 and under compared with no male clerks reporting this salary level. Comparable percentages of female and male clerks report

salaries of between $10,000 and $19,000 (73% of female and 7 out of 10 male clerks). Yet, three male clerks earn between $20,000 and $29,000 while only 15 percent of their female counterparts earn this amount.

Of all the municipal managers, female clerk/treasurer/registrars assign the most responsibility to elected officials. The fact that they serve predominantly in cities governed under the mayor/council format, explains some of this deference to elected officials. Perhaps their greater empathy towards elected officials, their insistence that they don't disagree with them, for example, helps explain the paradoxes in their role. On the one hand they are expected to have policy input, on the other they fail to perceive themselves as chief administrative officers. These are officials whose job at one time was mostly as secretary, and "clerk" to the council. Their job now involves a staff and many administrative duties such as federal and state grant-in-aid management. The male clerk/treasurer/registrars contrast sharply with their female peers and report overwhelmingly that the manager has primary responsibility over personnel (91%), budget (100%), administration (91%), and planning (100%).

The growth and added responsibilities of their jobs have, in some instances, catapulted them into de facto management and in others, it has resulted in a stripping away of their responsibilities. "When I came into this job such a long time ago, the position was not very difficult. It was a job that the two previous clerk/treasurers had only spent part-time on. When I came into office, I decided the job needed to be full time because of all the federal and state regulations," says a female clerk/treasurer from Indiana. And, in contrast, a city clerk in Arizona describes the cumulative paring back of his job responsibilities as the city clerk when the community grew and various functions became specialized. "When I started here five years ago, this position included finance, personnel, purchasing, supervision of office staff and city clerk all in one. We have since brought in personnel to specialize in these areas leaving this job primarily as that of secretary to the mayor and council."

In a similar situation in Connecticut, a female four-year veteran of the city clerk/treasurer position is waiting out her term until a city manager takes over her duties within the year. "My position will be replaced by a city manager because our town voted to switch to a council/manager form of government and basically I believe most of the duties of the city manager will be what I am doing now," she says. Her description of the city clerk/treasurer job was one that demanded diplomatic skills and the ability to work under pressure.

While most clerk/treasurers are content to implement their governing bodies' decisions rather than attempt to shape policy themselves, some voice their dissatisfaction in our telephone interviews. When it comes to attitudes toward women clerk/treasurers, a female veteran of 24 years on the job believes her council gives her "all the credit in the world" for having ability, yet when she speaks up at council meetings she continually feels "put down." "After all, I have been around a long time. My opinions and reactions should be worth something," she says.

Another female clerk/treasurer from North Carolina, explains a problem she faces when decisions are made by the council and city manager. "Unless my council is stymied, they don't turn to me as part of the decision-making process, even when it comes to budgetary matters that are within my province." This desire to be recognized among clerks and clerk/treasurers surfaces most frequently among veterans in the position who have watched elected officials come and go.

Organizations aimed at meeting the specific needs of these municipal employees have been mobilized as the job functions have changed and responsibilities have grown. One of the most effective organizations serving these "hidden managers" is the Indiana League of Municipal Clerks and Treasurers. This organization meets annually, but is also organized on a regional and district basis. A female Indiana clerk/treasurer describes the way it operates: "We can always pick up the phone and call another

clerk/treasurer to see if she can give an answer to a problem that I have come up against. It is very informal. As an organization we have tried to stress that people who are clerk/treasurers should be better trained because the job has changed so tremendously. We now have a manual so that newly-elected clerk/treasurers will know what they are going to have to do in the job. When I first took office, there was no such thing. The league has also instituted an annual training school. We have in place a mechanism to pass on information and training skills to help each other."

PART VI: RELATIONSHIPS TO ELECTED OFFICIALS

Key Findings

1. Both female and male municipal managers rate political parties as unimportant to governmental policymaking, personnel decisions and their own career paths:

   69% of females and 71% of males rate political parties as unimportant to governmental policymaking

   83% of females and 88% of males rate political parties as unimportant to personnel decisions

   82% of females and 89% of males rate political parties as unimportant to career decisions

2. Both female and male municipal managers rank administrators rather than elected officials as having primary responsibility over a variety of governmental functions from administration to budget making:

   76% of females and 92% of males say administrators have primary responsibility over administration

   73% of females and 86% of males say administrators have primary responsibility over personnel decisions

   69% of females and 85% of males say administrators have primary responsibility over budget

   62% of females and 79% of males say administrators have primary responsibility over planning

3. Politicians are cited as having more influence in mayor/council cities than in council/manager cities:

   In mayor/council cities, 46% of female and 24% of male managers credit elected officials with primary responsibility over general administrative functions

   In council/manager cities, only 3% of female and no male managers among our respondents credit elected officials with primary administrative responsibility

4. Both female and male municipal managers cite the mayor as the most powerful figure in the community, followed by the CAO/CM and council members:

   Mayor cited by 48% of females and 41% of males

   CAO/CM cited by 20% of females and 23% of males

   Council members cited by 18% of females and 18% of males

5. Sixty-one percent of female and 59 percent of male municipal managers report directly to the CAO/CM, while 26 percent of women and 29 percent of men report directly to an elected official.

6. Forty percent of female elected officials in our sample cite nonpartisanship and administrative expertise as two reasons for the administrator/politican gulf. Not understanding political pressure and reasoning and the aura of superiority that politicians perceive in administrators, leads to tensions and antagonisms between the career appointed and elected official.

7. Seventy-six percent of female elected respondents expressed positive sentiments toward the women's movement and its major goals, 12 percent expressed negative sentiments and 13 percent were neutral on the issue.

8. Elected female respondents report associating most frequently with male elected (82%) and male administrative officials (79%), at business meetings and conferences.

9. Elected female respondents are more likely to initiate activity to appoint women to boards and commissions rather than to engage in activities to employ women in government:

   87% of female elected officials report involvement in activities to appoint women to government boards and commissions. Of these female officials, 95% report success in gaining board and commission posts for women nominees

   Only 39% of female elected officials report involvement in activities to employ women in government

   21% choose not to extend any effort to employ women

   41% said employment activities were not applicable to their role as an elected official

   Of those who did engage in activities to employ women in government, 87% were successful in recruiting female job candidates

10. One-third of elected women respondents said that a "new girls network" existed in their towns:

    59% said no women's network existed

    5% said a women's network was just getting started

    Elected respondents describe women's networks operating through the following circumstances:

    - *professional organizations (43%)*
    - *informal associations and friendships (32%)*
    - *community action groups (7%)*
    - *the League of Women Voters (10%)*

11. Although 99% of female elected officials say it is appropriate for women to enter city management careers, only 41% believe that managerial women in government can help them be more effective officeholders:

> *Those elected women who felt that managerial women would enhance their job effectiveness cited the supportiveness of women toward other women, female interpersonal skills, high qualifications of women in municipal management, and easing the barriers of stereotyping and discrimination through increased numbers of women in leadership positions*
>
> *Those elected women who felt women managers would not affect their political effectiveness explained that gender is unimportant and that only merit and qualifications count*

PART VI: RELATIONSHIPS TO ELECTED OFFICIALS

A classic dichotomy in public administration literature is the relationship between the administrator and the politician. Situational variables such as job tenure, job responsibilities, and means of obtaining positions often place administrators and elected officials at different ends of the spectrum.

A recurring theme in both the survey data and the telephone interviews is the distance and problems associated with communication between the two sides of government. Respondents describe a natural tension between the politician and the administrator. Tenure in elected office is often short and uncertain. Administrators' job security is based on technical expertise and career credentials. In theory, politicians formulate policy while administrators implement it. Yet realistically, job stability, familiarity with issues, and technical expertise on the part of the administrator places her/him in a position to shape policy as well as implement it.

Elected officials depend on the voters favor to gain their position while administrators attain their career positions based on credentials, training and technical ability. Given all of these factors, it is not surprising that politicians follow the short-range demands and problems of their constituency while the manager often keeps her/his eye on the long-range solutions. Built into the governmental process is a check and balance system that has the potential for stress, opposition, and even circumvention.

Despite this tension, our survey found that many elected women <u>do</u> get involved in activities to appoint women to government boards and commissions and, to a lesser extent, to recruit them for governmental employment. This finding indicates that an informal female support linkage operates within municipal management, and often transcends communication barriers between administrators and politicians.

Our study also shows that those elected women who choose to actively recruit other women experience a high success rate. This fact suggests that the female

officials involved not only are effective in making recommendations to their political peers, but that they also must have informal ties to female networks. In fact, approximately one-third of elected women respondents say that a "new girls' network" exists in their towns and that it operates through professional organizations and informal personal associations.

The limited numbers of women in both the political and administrative areas in 1979 may foster their banding together for mutual support, mentoring and networking, regardless of whether they are politicians or administrators. Respondents in the telephone interviews describe situations where female councilwomen rely on female administrators for information and/or technical expertise. The marginal impact of women in municipal government--both politically and administratively--may foster a sense of common purpose and recognition of shared problems among females.

We asked a series of questions to determine the extent to which political parties are involved in the governmental process, the extent to which the politician participates in the administrative process, and to discover their perceptions of who the powerful individuals are in municipal government.

Female and male managers ranked the importance of political parties to governmental policymaking, personnel decisions, and their own career advancement. Overall, both female and male managers rate political parties as unimportant in all three situational contexts. Sixty-nine percent of females and 71 percent of males say political parties are not important to governmental policymaking. Eighty-three percent of females and 88 percent of males say that political parties are not important in personnel decisions; 82 percent of females and 89 percent of males say that political parties are unimportant to their own career advancement.

Not surprisingly, the eastern region of the nation, particularly the Middle Atlantic states with the dominance of the mayor/council form of government, gives the highest ratings to the influence of political parties along all three dimensions measured. Municipal managers are more likely to say that political parties are important

if they come from larger towns and/or mayor/council cities. Yet, even in these types of cities, the majority of female and male managers continue to rate parties as not important. Career administrators do not rate political parties as powerful initiators or contributors to governmental policymaking, personnel choices, or their own careers.

Responsibility for Key Administrative Functions

Municipal managers were asked to cite which office had primary responsibility for personnel, budget, planning, and general administration. As Table 6.1 summarizes, municipal managers view administrators as much more influential than elected officials regardless of the governmental function.

TABLE 6.1: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' ASSIGNMENT OF PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR KEY GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTIONS

Who has primary responsibility?	Key Governmental Functions							
	Personnel		Budget		Planning		Administration	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Municipal Manager(s)	73	86	69	85	62	79	76	92
Elected Official(s)	22	11	20	9	25	9	19	7
Manager(s) & Elected	4	(5)	10	4	6	3	4	(1)
Special Bd/Town Mtg	(5)	0	(8)	(4)	7	8	(3)	0
Total	(366)	(214)	(362)	(215)	(352)	(214)	(357)	(214)

While it was expected that municipal managers would report their own hegemony over administration and personnel in management oriented cities, it was somewhat surprising that administrators also cite their dominance of the planning and budget making process.

When it comes to administrative responsibility, female and male managers are in agreement on their dominance over elected officials. Seventy-six percent of women

and 92 percent of men cite municipal management responsibility for day-to-day administration.

Yet, male managers are more likely than female managers to assign municipal managers primary responsibility over personnel decisions in their towns. Double the percentage of female managers as male managers give credit to elected officials as those who are responsible for hiring, firing and other personnel decisions (22% compared with 11%).

Women are also more likely than men to see elected officials or a combination of elected and administrative staff as having primary responsibility over planning functions (31% of women compared with 12% of men). Yet, the majority of women (62%) still cite the administrators' control over the planning process.

The most striking gender differences occur when female and male managers are asked who has command over the budgetary process. Thirty percent of women credit elected officials or a mix of elected and administrative officials as having fiscal responsibility compared with only 13 percent of men. And 69 percent of female managers compared with 85 percent of males say the budgetary process is controlled by municipal managers.

Across all job categories, male managers are more likely than female managers to assign municipal managers rather than elected officials primary responsibility for administrative, planning, personnel and budgetary functions. For example, 81 percent of male CAO/CM's report municipal management responsibility for planning functions compared with 45 percent of female CAO/CM's. And 92 percent of male CAO/CM's say that municipal managers control the budgetary process compared with less than three-quarters (73%) of their female colleagues.

Of all job categories, females and males working as assistants in municipal management are closest in their perceptions of who has primary responsibility for

personnel, budget, planning, and general administration. Strikingly similar percentages of female and male assistants concur that municipal managers rather than elected officials control all four of these functions. For example, 94 percent of female and 98 percent of male assistants say that municipal managers are primarily responsible for administrative functions. Eighty-three percent of female and 85 percent of male assistants concur that managers are responsible for planning functions in local government. These matching perceptions suggesting municipal management dominance in local government could be accurate reflections of highly professional government. These professional governments are more likely to have larger staffs and thus more assistants. Or, these perceptions may indicate assistants' insulation from political pressures because of their relative youth and more professionally oriented educations, their limited tenure in public service, and their accountability to managers rather than politicians.

TABLE 6.2: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' ASSIGNMENT OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR KEY GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTIONS BY FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Who has responsibility?	Key Governmental Functions							
	Personnel				Budget			
	Mayor/Council		Council/Manager		Mayor/Council		Council/Manager	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Municipal Manager(s)	41	59	94	99	43	68	87	94
Elected Official(s)	51	36	4	0	39	24	8	3
Manager(s) and Elected	6	5	3	(1)	17	5	4	3
Special Board/Town Mtg.	(3)	0	0	0	(2)	3	0	0
Total	(123)	(60)	(218)	(148)	(122)	(59)	(215)	(147)
Who has responsibility?	**Key Governmental Functions**							
	Planning				General Administration			
Municipal Manager(s)	31	54	83	91	43	75	96	100
Elected Officals(s)	51	29	10	(2)	46	24	3	0
Manager(s) and Elected	7	3	5	3	9	(1)	(2)	0
Special Board/Town Mtg.	11	14	2	5	3	0	0	0
Total	(117)	(59)	(212)	(146)	(120)	(59)	(213)	(147)

Table 6.2 summarizes differences in assigning responsibility between respondents in mayor/council and council/manager cities. Managers in mayor/council cities are much more likely than their counterparts in council/manager cities to identify elected officials as the locus of responsibility across all four governmental areas. Yet, female managers are more likely than male managers to assign elected officials prime responsibility, even within cities governed under the mayor/council format. For example, 46 percent of female managers say that elected officials have prime responsibility for general administration compared with 24 percent of male managers in mayor/council cities. And 51 percent of female managers grant elected officials primary responsibility in the areas of planning and personnel--the only instances where elected officials get a majority percentage on responsibility for key governmental functions.

Sharp differences in perceptions of governmental responsibility occur between female managers working in mayor/council and council/manager governments. Those females working under a council/manager format share the perceptions of their male colleagues and overwhelmingly claim administrative dominance, while their female peers in mayor/council cities give considerable (budget and administration) and sometimes major credit (planning and personnel) to elected officials.

TABLE 6.3: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' JOB CATEGORY BY FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Job Category	Form of Government			
	Mayor/Council		Council/Manager	
	F	M	F	M
	%	%	%	%
CAO/CM	6	42	8	22
Finance Officer	35	35	20	10
Clk/Trs/Reg	28	5	11	5
Assistant	15	13	49	55
Department Head	16	5	13	9
Total	(127)	(60)	(220)	(148)

As Table 6.3 shows, 63 percent of female managerial respondents in mayor/council cities are working either as finance officers or as clerk/treasurer/registrars. In contrast, 62 percent of female managers in council/manager cities are working as assistants and department heads. Our findings in Parts I and II show that female finance officers and clerk/treasurer/registrars are among the older, least educated managerial women surveyed. Seventy-five percent of female finance officers and 84 percent of female clerks are 40 years of age and older. Sixty-six percent of female finance officers and 92 percent of female clerks have less than a bachelor's degree. These factors suggest that the profile of managerial women working under the two forms of government is different. Managerial women in mayor/council cities are concentrated in the job categories of finance officer and clerk and tend to be older and less educated. Managerial women in council/manager cities tend to be working as assistants, finance officers, and department heads and are younger and more highly educated. The more professional profile of women in council/manager cities may be reflected in their attitudes toward administrative dominance of municipal government. Their counterparts in mayor/council cities may feel hesitant to exert their authority due to the traditional strength of political governing units and their lack of formal credentials.

This pattern of perceived administrative dominance and underestimation of elected officials' roles, adds to the tension between the elected and career official. It underplays the political responsibility of the elected official whose job it is to create policy and shape programs. It is the politician who judges the administrator and is ultimately responsible for hiring and firing the manager. Yet, clearly among our managerial respondents, either they dominate the governmental process in their cities, or they circumvent the elected official by taking the decision-making process into the managerial and technical realm rather than the political. Either situation highlights the fact that rather than having natural alliances, politicians and

administrators have a relationship characterized by built-in antagonisms. If elected officials in the cities that this study represents do not have primary responsibility for any of the four functions explored, then their representation of the public does not have policy clout. If the administrative hegemony perceived by female and male managers is wishful thinking rather than reality, then a wide gulf exists between the elected representatives and those administrators hired to execute their policies.

Powerful Community Figures

Despite the failure of administrators to rate parties with much clout, and the indication that elected officials have limited responsibilities, municipal managers are likely to list the mayor as the most powerful individual in their community. Forty-eight percent of female managers and 41 percent of male managers cite the mayor as the most powerful individual in their town. The CAO/CM is listed by 20 percent of women and 23 percent of men as the second most powerful figure, while council members are listed third in the power hierarchy (by 18% of both female and male managers). Political party officials have negligible impact. Overall, listing the four most powerful people in the community, 46 percent of those municipal figures listed were elected officials while 50 percent were municipal managers. Less than one percent of those municipal figures listed were political party figures.

Another dimension to the relationship between elected and appointed officials is who female and male municipal managers report to directly. The clear majority of female (61%) and male (59%) managers say they report directly to the CAO/CM while only 26 percent of female and 29 percent of male managers say they report directly to elected officials. The remainder of female and male managers say they report to a mix of elected and managerial officials (13% for women and 12% for men).

While managers recognize local elected officials as powerful community forces, they fail to recognize their responsibility when it comes to key administrative functions in municipal government. Perhaps the lack of technical expertise associated with politicians leads administrators to presume that their skills and training are primary to the operation of municipal government.

The elected women surveyed provide additional insight on this issue of the political/administrative relationship. Thirty-nine percent of elected women said there were barriers between managers and elected officials. Politicians win office through elections and voter approval, while administrators gain appointments through educational credentials and technical knowledge. Not surprisingly, then, the barrier most often cited was the fact that administrators feel superior because of their expertise and skills, and often treat politically sensitive issues with a nonpolitical, textbook approach. Elected women also explain that administrators either choose to or are required to be nonpartisan and, as a result, keep their distance from elected officials.

Telephone Interviews and Elected Officials

Telephone respondents were sometimes extremely outspoken on this issue. When we talk about unanticipated aspects of the management job, we quoted a male CAO from New England who described his council as unwilling to "give up the throne...to let the manager perform... ."

A female clerk/treasurer from New England explains the different perspectives of administrators and politicians succinctly:

> *...for the most part the politicians have a great distrust of the determinations made by so-called professionals and feel they have more of the answers and more of the pulse of the community than the people who are here managing or doing the actual work and, for that reason, quite frequently recommendations made by the professionals who are working for the city are completely disregarded.*

The professional administrator responds to long-range problem solving while the elected official must face constituent demands and short-range solutions.

At the 1978 ICMA convention, the Women in Management subcommittee discussed this problem. A male ex-manager from California felt there were no links between appointed and elected officials; one could not expect, for example, that elected women would help the careers of female managers. "Elected officials...have no real concepts of what administrators do. Their main concern is getting elected again and bartering interest." He continued to describe the special difficulties of elected women in helping management women. "Elected women have chits to pay and they need their credentials. It is asking too much of them to put themselves on the line and hire a woman city manager who is going to maybe become an albatross around their neck. Who needs the added pressures?"

A female city manager from California echoed his concern. She had interviewed before councils with two or more women. "I knew I was a top candidate. I was told by my agency that I was a top contender for the job, yet the councilwomen felt the pressure politically, and decided to go with a male. I can understand that pressure. I feel it too now when I hire a woman for a top position in city administration. We don't talk about it but that feeling is there."

In summary, municipal managers rank themselves as powerful people in their communities influencing a broad range of municipal functions from budget setting to planning to personnel decisions. Job stability, technical expertise, managerial skills, and day-to-day issue familiarity converge to bolster the adminstrator's role in municipal government. Yet, the policymaking power vested in the elected official is an inherent source of tension between administrators and politicians.

Linkages Between Elected and Appointed Women

After exploring the relationship between municipal managers and their political governing bodies, we turned to an investigation of linkages between managerial women and elected women serving in the same municipality. What roles, if any, do women elected officials play as mentors in the recruitment, hiring, and promotion of managerial women? Inversely, what roles do women in municipal management play in the political careers of women elected officials?

One can hypothesize that as females, both elected and appointed, join the governmental elites they exercise leadership and personal power to recruit, hire and promote other women in public service. The underlying assumption is that these female elites are predominantly pro-feminist and willing to exert their own personal power to further the concerns of the feminist movement by bringing more women into public sector policymaking positions.

A differing hypothesis would be that female elected and appointed officials are, by nature of their limited tenure and scarce numbers, not confident enough nor willing to exert feminist leadership that may stereotype them in the public eye as a feminist politician or label them as "Women's Libber Managers." They may be positive, lukewarm or negative to feminist concerns and positions, but the political risk in publically and professionally exercising their attitude positions outweighs the benefits.

Two nationwide surveys of female political elites have uncovered a mixture of feminist and non-feminist tendencies. Susan Carroll's study of women candidates in 1976 used the term "closet feminists" to describe women candidates who were found to be generally committed to women's issues and the goals of the feminist movement yet carefully hiding their positions from public view during the campaign period of their public life.[10] Carroll presents two reasons for this concealed feminism on the part of women candidates in 1976: fear of being stereotyped as a one-issue candidate,

and lack of a conscious recognition and acceptance of feminist predispositions--a latent, unactivated feminism.

In a nationwide survey of elective and appointive women officeholders serving in 1977, Johnson and Carroll found that women public officials demonstrated strong support for feminist issues (ratification of the ERA, favoring social security benefits for homemakers, and opposing a constitutional ban on abortion). Yet, at the same time, they were not joiners of feminist organizations and few listed women's issues as one of their top three priority projects.[11]

These two studies point to the duality of feminist attitudes and behavior for women candidates and elected officials. There are other examples where women leaders become activist in their approach to bring other women into public service leadership positions. For example, by August of 1978, then Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Patricia Harris, had managed to fill 51 percent of 155 top appointments at HUD with women. Forty-seven percent of these women were at GS-11 range earning $18,000 and over. Determination and reminders to top staffers that they can and should find qualified women filtered from the secretary's office throughout the federal agency.

Elected women were first asked how they felt overall about the women's rights movement and its major goals. Five response options were listed from very positive to very negative. Seventy-six percent of female officeholders expressed positive sentiments toward the feminist movement and its major goals. Thirteen percent said they were neutral on the issue and only 12 percent expressed negative reactions.

In exploring whether linkages exist between elected and appointed officials we asked elected women how often they associated with both female and male appointed and elected officials in three different circumstances: business meetings and conferences, informal or social contacts, and formally organized groups. As Table 6.4 shows, elected

women associate the most with other elected males and male managers and the interaction occurs most often in business settings or within formal organizations.

TABLE 6.4A: FREQUENCY OF ELECTED WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION WITH FEMALE AND MALE ELECTED OFFICIALS BY CIRCUMSTANCE

Frequency of Association	Circumstances of Association w/ Elected Officials					
	Business Mtgs./ Conferences		Informal/Social Contact		Formal Organizations	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Very Often	45	82	17	29	21	39
Occasionally	33	15	47	54	43	39
Rarely	16	2	23	12	22	14
Not at all	7	(2)	13	4	14	8
Total	(382)	(384)	(379)	(379)	(378)	(376)

TABLE 6.4B: FREQUENCY OF ELECTED WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION WITH FEMALE AND MALE MUNICIPAL MANAGERS BY CIRCUMSTANCE

Frequency of Association	Circumstances of Association w/ Elected Officials					
	Business Mtgs./ Conferences		Informal/Social Contact		Formal Organizations	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Very Often	32	79	11	28	11	37
Occasionally	31	16	40	49	41	36
Rarely	25	4	31	19	26	18
Not at all	12	(4)	18	4	23	9
Total	(380)	(380)	(376)	(379)	(374)	(378)

Elected women report associating most frequently with male elected officials (82%) and male municipal managers (79%) at business meetings and conferences. Their frequent contact with elected males through formal organizations is considerably less (39%) and they are least likely to associate very often with their male peers in

informal, social situations (29%). The frequency of association reported with other elected women and women municipal managers is considerably less than with male peers or administrative colleagues across all three circumstances. For example, 21 percent of women officeholders report associating very often with other female elected officials within formal organizations and only 11 percent say they associate very often with managerial women in the same situation. This lack of association with either elected or appointed women through formal organizations may reflect the relative newness of women's caucuses within professional associations and/or the fact that these females do not join feminist organizations. Elected women are almost twice as likely to associate very often informally with elected men (29%) and male municipal managers (28%) than they are with either elected women (17%) or managerial women (11%). The highest frequency of association among women occurs at business meetings and conferences where elected women report associating very often with other elected women (45%) and managerial women (32%).

When we asked female municipal managers to report how frequently they associated with other women in government, the business meeting and conference setting is also mentioned most often (by 45% of the respondents). Only 23 percent of managerial women reported associating with women in government in an informal, social setting, and 14 percent reported such activity with formal organizations.

The greater likelihood for elected women to associate more frequently with other elected male officials and male administrators in all three situations may be explained by the traditional male dominance of political and governmental leadership positions.

Activities to Appoint Women in Public Service

An overwhelming majority of elected women have been actively involved in appointing women to serve on government boards and commissions. Eighty-seven percent of female

officeholder respondents said they had tried to get women appointed. Only five percent reported that they had never been involved in any activity to appoint women to boards and commissions, and another eight percent reported that this activity was not applicable to their elective job role. Of those women who took a leadership role in supporting women for appointments, 95 percent report success in obtaining female board positions. Five percent of female elected officials reported that they were unsuccessful in their efforts.

TABLE 6.5: FREQUENCY OF ELECTED WOMEN'S ACTIVITY TO APPOINT WOMEN TO BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

Number of times involved in activity to appoint women to boards and commissions	Elected Women %
1 to 4	36
5 to 9	41
10 to 14	17
15 & over	5
Total	(150)

Table 6.5 summarizes the number of times elected women report involvement in activities to appoint women to government boards and commissions. Fifty-eight percent report trying to appoint women from 5 to 14 times during their term(s) in office. The median number of times an elected woman tried to get other women appointed was seven. Not only have elected women engaged in multiple attempts to place a woman on a board or commission, but of those who tried, 41 percent report a perfect success rate.

Those female officeholders who tried to appoint women to local government board posts frequently depended on informal, subtle means such as talking to another elected colleague (67%), or speaking to a public offical (57%). They were less likely to take direct action themselves, either by recruiting women nominees (9%) or initiating

nomination (4%). Close to a third of the elected women who tried to appoint a woman to a board or commission reported writing a letter of recommendation to support a nomination.

Perhaps this reluctance to actively recruit and nominate other women to boards and commissions is a reflection of the fear of being stereotyped by colleagues or the public as a feminist or being held accountable for female nominations. The reliance on informal conversations with colleagues and administrators may be a less threatening means of supporting other women without risking political capital before the public.

Activities to Employ Women in Public Service

When it comes to activities surrounding the employment of women in public service, the majority of elected women (41%) say that such activity is not applicable to their role as an elected official. Of those who could participate in recruiting, interviewing, or hiring women in government, 65 percent say they have been involved in an effort to employ women while 35 percent say they have not extended any effort in this direction.

It seems that once the decision is made to actively get involved in employing women in government, female elected officials are extremely successful. Eighty-seven percent report success in recruiting women for government employment. When questioned on what method proved most effective in identifying and recruiting women candidates for employment, 72 percent of elected women name personal contact or solicitation. They describe using personal networks to identify female job candidates or putting pressure on elected colleagues or administrators to consider female applicants for municipal job positions. Talent banks accounted for 14 percent of the successful recruiting done by elected women, and women's groups were credited by 12 percent. Only seven percent of female officeholders said that they used public advocation of hiring women as a successful recruitment strategy. The informal networking and behind-the-scenes conversations are the most effective means utilized by elected women to

identify female job applicants.

For those elected women whose recruitment efforts failed, the majority (58%) point to anti-female attitudes such as sex-role stereotyping and gender discrimination. Other barriers cited to placing more women in municipal management positions included lack of qualified female applicants (38%), lack of confidence of female applicants (13%) and not enough female candidates in the management labor pool (11%).

In summary, elected women are more likely to initiate activity to appoint women to boards and commissions rather than to engage in behavior to employ women in government. Several factors may affect this situation. Appointments are generally included within political job roles while employment activities may or may not. In council/manager cities, elective officials usually keep out of personnel decision-making, leaving primary responsibility to the municipal manager. The minority status of elected women, their dependence on male networks for information, and their limited numbers among political governing bodies, may converge to make them hesitant about taking an activist role to recruit other women into public service. Political culture and environment, which is anti-feminist as some respondents describe it, may not be conducive to their recruitment or appointive efforts on behalf of women job candidates or nominees. The finding that so many elected women do get involved in activities to appoint women, and to a lesser extent to recruit them for employment, may indicate that an informal female support network is operating within municipal management. The high success rate of elected women who choose to actively recruit other women, may suggest that they will not get involved in recruitment efforts unless they are fairly confident that they can be successful--thereby minimizing their political risk.

The heavy reliance on informal conversations may indicate that elected women are politically astute and after evaluating the political winds, they push for female employment and appointment in ways that will not cost them votes or jeopardize their political image of representing all the people.

Existence of a New Girls Network

Meeting common needs through group action has traditionally been the seed from which organizations and associations grow. As CAWP's study "Women's Organizations in the Public Service: Toward Agenda Setting" documents, female caucuses and associations multiplied in the 1970s in response to the isolation, exclusion and newness of women in government.

Recognizing the growing organizations of elected and appointed women across the country, we asked female elected officials whether or not a "new girls network" existed in their community, and how it operated either formally or informally, or why a network did not exist.

One-third of elected women reported that a women's network existed in their towns operating at a formal or informal level. Over half (59%) reported that no women's network existed and another five percent said it existed minimally or was just getting started. The remainder (3%) said they didn't know if a women's network existed or not.

In describing how new networks functioned, 43 percent of elected women said they operated through professional organizations. The professional organization can pull members together through common concerns and interests and allow women to seek out other women with whom they would not ordinarily come into contact. Thirty-two percent of female officeholders say their networks operate through women informally in the "new girls networks" in their towns. Only seven percent report that networks operate formally. Women seeking out other women through community action groups accounts for six percent of female networking and alliances made through the League of Women Voters accounts for 10 percent.

The dependency on professional organizations as a support system for elected and appointed women places responsibility on these associations to try to meet the needs

of newer entrants to political life. As "Toward Agenda Setting" describes, some of these organizations have responded by encouraging their female members to form caucuses and by initiating organizational subcommittees and task forces.

Reasons for Absence of a "New Girls Network"

The majority of elected women who cite a reason why a feminist network did not exist in their town said there was no need for one (57%). Twenty-four percent of elected women said there were too few women to make a network a viable support system. Among other reasons given for the lack of a women's network were apathy among women in the community (18%); the fact that women were too busy with job responsibilities (7%); lack of leadership/organizational skills in the community (7%). Surprisingly, male domination or chauvinism and negative community reaction only accounted for 12 percent of the reasons cited for the absence of a network. Elected women either do not see a need for networking, explain that women's numbers in political leadership positions are too few, or place the blame on women's apathy, work schedule, or lack of leadership ability. Apparently community reaction or male attitudes concerning women's organizational efforts have little impact on the lack of a female network.

Despite the fact that 99 percent of female elected respondents say it is appropriate for women to enter careers in city management, only 41 percent feel that the presence of female municipal managers can help them to be more effective officeholders. Fifty-nine percent felt that the presence of female managers would not help them perform their elective duties more effectively.

Of those female elected officials who felt women managers could increase their political effectiveness, 66 percent explained that women were supportive of other woman. Thirty-seven percent cited the reason that more women in government would ease barriers and thereby help them function without being hindered by stereotyping and

discrimination. Other elected females said women were highly qualified (21%) and that women have good interpersonal skills (21%).

Of those female elected officials who felt women managers would have no effect on their political life, 98 percent explained that gender is unimportant, merit and qualifications count. They view themselves positively, as effective elected officials and the presence of managerial women would not change or enhance their performance.

In summary, supportive networks are beginning to link professional women in government service. The fact that a third of elected female respondents report that a "new girls network" exists in their town and that it operates either through professional organizations or informally, documents that women have begun to mobilize within government service. At the same time, the 59 percent of elected respondents who report that no women's network exists in their towns explaining that there is no reason for one to form, points to a lack of awareness or recognition that such a support system would be helpful. A dualistic pattern of pro-feminist and non-feminist attitudes and behavior exists among female elected respondents. Those women who are joining forces through mutual concerns and interests are utilizing the professional organizations or informal personal associations as their networking vehicle. Those women who do not recognize nor believe in the need for a support system among women in government still feel that it is appropriate for women to enter careers in city management and are generally supportive of the feminist movement and major goals.

PART VII: BARRIERS AND SUPPORT SYSTEMS FOR FEMALES IN MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT

Key Findings

1. Female managers rate their communities' receptivity to professional women in government lower than male managers:

   57% of females rate their communities' receptivity to women in government as moderate to very low compared with 39% of male managers

2. Female municipal managers consider the employment of women in the public sector to be a more important issue than most of their male counterparts:

   53% of women managers believe this issue is "very important" compared with 30% of men managers

3. Male managers are able to hire or appoint women more regularly than female managers. Both female and male managers engage in activities to recommend and hire women for government employment or to recommend and appoint women to serve on public boards and commissions.

   HOWEVER. . .

   Female managers are slightly more likely to recommend women for employment (48%) than they are to recommend women for appointments to boards and commissions (41%)

   Male managers are more likely to recommend women as appointees (61%) than they are to recommend women for employment (53%)

4. Among both sexes, barriers to hiring/recruitment and promotion are cited consistently as serious problems facing women seeking careers in municipal management.

5. Both female and male managers agree that lack of training, and/or educational qualifications and insufficient numbers of women in the management labor pool are critical barriers facing women's advancement in careers in municipal management.

6. Overall, male managers are the least likely group surveyed to cite barriers as important to women's advancement in the field, and female managers are the most likely group to perceive barriers. Elected women tend to share the perceptions of their female administrative peers on the subject of barriers, rather than the outlook of the male administrator:

   Male managers name insufficient numbers of women in the managerial labor pool, lack of training and/or educational qualifications, and individual personality traits as the top three barriers women managers face. All three of these barriers place the blame for women's lack of penetration into municipal management not on the system, but on the woman herself.

In contrast, women name individual personality traits, discrimination by employers, and stereotypes about women's role in society as the top three barriers they perceive. While women assume some of the blame for the problems they experience, they also point to serious barriers within the work place and society in general impeding their integration and upward mobility in municipal management.

Female and male managers differ sharply in rating the importance of three formidable barriers to women's advancement. Women say they face difficulty in being taken seriously, in exclusion from male networks, and in discrimination from employers. Male managers consider these issues as less important in understanding women's status in municipal management.

Women managers rank another set of barriers consistently higher than their male colleagues. Individual personality traits, stereotypes about women's role in society, and prejudice of public and governmental employees are considered as important barriers by women managers. Males are less likely to consider these issues as important.

7. Problems of human sexuality in the work place (including sexual harassment, gossip, and innuendos) place strain on female administrators.

Special Advantages To Being A Female In Municipal Management

8. In telephone interviews, female and male managers cite several advantages to being a woman in municipal management in 1979:

Both female and male managers agree that male overprotection operates in professional settings when men treat women with kid gloves or shield them from tough situations or criticisms. It is viewed as a dubious advantage.

Feminine charm is mentioned as an advantage that operates to smooth egos and ruffled tempers in municipal management. It is a double-edged advantage that easily translates into other kinds of sexual problems in the work place.

Female managers experience the temporary advantage of high visibility that comes with a sexually imbalanced professional world.

Long-range, cumulative advantages that help women managers are the changing attitudes affected by the women's rights movement, the legal mandates for equal employment opportunities, and the federal administrative guidelines calling for affirmative action.

Both female and male managers perceive women to be more empathetic to the needs of their communities, good listeners, and sensitive to the concerns of their employees.

PART VII: BARRIERS AND SUPPORT SYSTEMS FOR FEMALES IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

In my own community I have seen change. Women are moving into more administrative, decision-making positions. Inroads are being made. I see progress.

Male Director of Public Works, Wisconsin

I think there is still a reservation in putting women in top positions. It is going to take another generation before we get out of this situation and see women in nontraditional types of roles. Attitudes are very slow in changing.

Female Administrative Assistant, Iowa

Why do so few women work at a management level in municipal government? Our study of managers within municipal government led to a series of discoveries about the obstacles that either block or temporarily sidetrack women in being recruited, hired, and promoted. Some of these obstacles are rooted in societal stereotypes, exclusion from influential male networks, and age-old sexist attitudes. Still other barriers are the result of lack of training or education credentials, and individual personality traits.

In order to place female and male perceptions of barriers into an overall framework, a series of questions was asked to determine the community receptivity to women in government; how important female and male managers felt it was to get more women employed or appointed in government service; how often they recommended, hired, or appointed women for government employment or service.

When female and male managers were asked to rank their communities' receptivity to the employment of professional women in government, women rated their communities lower than men. Fifty-seven percent of female managers rate their communities' receptivity to women in government as moderate to very low compared with 39 percent of male managers. There is a greater tendency for male managers to think their communities are very receptive to the influx of women in government service, with 23 percent describing their town's receptivity as "very high." Only 13 percent of females describe the climate of their town with this highest rating.

When it comes to the overall importance of employing more women in the public sector, more than half of the women managers (53%) feel that this is a "very important" issue compared with 30 percent of men. The majority of males (48%) and 31 percent of females consider this issue "moderately important."

To some extent, the desire to employ other women is affected by region and population. Female managers located along the Pacific Coast are the most interested in the importance of employing more women in government--66 percent view it as a strong priority compared with a national average of 53 percent. Municipal managers in large cities, regardless of sex, place more emphasis on employing women than those managers in less populated communities.

Female elected officials concur with their female administrative peers about the employment of women and see it as a more salient issue than male managers. Forty-eight percent of female elected officeholders rate the employment of women as a high priority, and 40 percent feel that it is a moderate priority. Their judgment of community receptivity to professional women in government also closely matches the perceptions of the female managers; they are equally pessimistic about a woman's opportunities in municipal management.

TABLE 7.1: COMMUNITY RECEPTIVITY TO WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' RANKING OF IMPORTANCE OF EMPLOYING WOMEN

Community Receptivity	Employment of Women							
	Very Important		Moderately Important		Somewhat Important		Not Important	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Very High	14	21	11	26	11	19	20	27
High	27	41	32	44	40	19	35	18
Moderate	37	27	44	24	34	43	20	46
Low	15	8	11	6	11	16	10	9
Very Low	7	3	2	1	5	3	15	(0)
Total	(194)	(63)	(114)	(101)	(38)	(37)	(20)	(11)

Table 7.1 summarizes female and male rankings of the level of community receptivity to women in government by the importance of employing women in government. Of those municipal managers who believe that the employment of women is a very important priority, women are less likely than men to rate their communities' receptivity as high or very high (41% as compared with 62%). This difference holds even for those women and men who view the employment of women in government as a moderately important issue. Women are still more pessimistic and men are more optimistic in rating community climate. Only 43 percent of women view their communities' response to women in government as high or very high, while 70 percent of the men choose these positive ratings.

As the importance of employing women diminishes, a female manager's view of her community's receptivity rises, even to the point of surpassing the optimism of her male colleagues. Of those women rating employment of women as somewhat important, 51 percent feel that community receptivity is very high or high compared with 38 percent of the men. Of those women rating this issue as unimportant, 55 percent feel the community is very receptive to women in government compared with 45 percent of the men.

In summary, among women managers an inverse relationship exists between the priority they place on employing more women in government careers and how they rank their community's receptivity to women. For the female municipal manager, the greater her desire to see more women enter government service, the greater her frustration with her community's progress in this area. The less important this issue becomes for women, the more likely they are to rate their communities as receptive to the employment of women in government.

Municipal Managers' Activities to Increase the Number of Women in Government Service

When we assessed the activities of female and male managers in their efforts to either recommend or employ women in municipal departments and also to recommend and appoint women to serve on boards and commissions, we found that, generally, both sexes attempted to open opportunities for women in municipal government. Many managers were quick to point out that when it comes to recommending women for boards and commissions or appointing women to serve on these boards, their role is limited by political considerations. Seventy-three percent of female managers and 71 percent of male managers said that appointing women to boards and commissions was not applicable to their jobs. Even in recommending women for appointments, 29 percent of females and 35 percent of males explained that this function was not one that they normally handle. In contrast, among elected female respondents, 87 percent report activity in getting women appointed to boards and commissions (see Part VI). Elected women are less likely to engage in activities to employ women in government, reserving personnel decisions to administrators.

Tables 7.2A and 7.2B summarize the frequency of these activities for those female and male managers who are able to hire or recommend women regularly, either for employment or for service on boards or commissions within municipal government.

TABLE 7.2A: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' FREQUENCY OF RECOMMENDING WOMEN TO GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

Frequency of Activity	Recommend Women Appointees to Boards and Commissions		Recommend Women for Employment in Municipal Government	
	F	M	F	M
	%	%	%	%
Regularly	41	61	48	53
Occasionally	36	28	44	40
Infrequently	9	5	4	5
Not at all	13	5	4	2
Total	(253)	(137)	(331)	(192)

TABLE 7.28: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' FREQUENCY OF ACTIVITY OF APPOINTING AND HIRING WOMEN TO GOVERNMENT POSITIONS

Frequency of Activity	Appoint Women to Boards and Commissions		Hire Women for Government Employment	
	F	M	F	M
	%	%	%	%
Regularly	37	51	58	60
Occasionally	25	30	33	33
Infrequently	8	18	4	4
Not at all	29	2	5	4
Total	(95)	(61)	(286)	(181)

On a regular basis, more men than women recommend, appoint, and/or hire women for government positions. Female managers were more likely to recommend women for employment (48%) than they were to recommend women as appointees to boards and commissions (41%). The reverse is true for male managers, who were more likely to recommend women as appointees (61%) than they were to recommend women for employment opportunities (53%).

When it comes to the issue of hiring women for government employment, female and male managers are equally likely, whether regularly or occasionally, to hire a woman (see Table 7.28). Yet men are still more likely to appoint women to boards and commissions either regularly (51%) or occasionally (30%) than their female colleagues.

Overall, male managers report a greater frequency of recommendations, hiring, and appointments of women to government positions. There are several clues that suggest possible explanations for this finding. It may be that men are less inhibited about appointing women to boards and commission than their female counterparts. Some women managers who are in a position to make these recommendations, yet choose to do so less often than their male counterparts, may be hesitant to "go out on a limb" for another woman. If the appointee or employee fails, that failure could reflect

on the female manager who made the recommendation. The political/career risk of supporting a female job candidate may be too great for a female manager still in the process of establishing her own credibility within an organization. It may also be that males have better political connections to the appointive process.

There is also evidence from our telephone interviews that female clerk/treasurer/registrars operating as CAO/CM's, often place their ideas and suggestions concerning personnel and projects into the heads of male administrators. This occurs when women managers believe they are not taken seriously and deliberately choose to influence decisions through the power and status of a male colleague. If this is happening regularly, then it is possible that some male recommendations concerning appointments or employment of women in government are spurred by female suggestions.

Another clue suggested by our data: male managers in our sample have larger staffs than their female counterparts and, therefore, they also have more opportunities to employ personnel directly. Fifty-five percent of males manage staffs of more than 10 people compared with 39 percent of females.

Finally, it must be remembered that because of the split responsibilities between the political and administrative spheres, it is often impossible for female and male managers to appoint or employ other women. Table 7.3 summarizes the priority placed on employing and appointing women in government service for female and male managers whose job responsibilities preclude them from these activities.

Female managers who are unable to recommend other females for board appointments or employment, or to appoint or hire them for government positions, still place high priority on the importance of employing and appointing women in government. In fact, across all four activities excluded from their job responsibilities in Table 7.3, female managers consistently place higher priority on the employment and appointment of women in government than their male counterparts.

TABLE 7.3: IMPORTANCE OF APPOINTING/EMPLOYING WOMEN BY ACTIVITIES EXCLUDED FROM MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' JOB RESPONSIBILITIES

Appointing/ Employing Women	Activities Excluded from Job Responsibilities							
	Recommending Board Appointments		Recommending For Employment		Appointing For Boards		Hiring for Govt. Jobs	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Very Important	57	24	48	32	55	31	55	30
Moderately Important	32	53	36	41	32	46	30	52
Somewhat Important	5	17	3	23	8	16	7	12
Not Important	6	7	12	5	5	6	7	6
Total	(102)	(72)	(33)	(22)	(253)	(143)	(83)	(33)

Barriers

Although the majority of female and male managers are active in attempts to further the employment and appointment of women in government service, they are quick to indicate barriers to the employment of women. While information about barriers women face in moving up a career ladder in public service is difficult to collect, it is clear that obstacles do exist and that they are numerous and varied. Are women actively recruited for municipal management positions? Do they face barriers at the hiring stage? What barriers have an impact on women who seek promotions? Are there barriers which impede a woman manager's effectiveness on the job? We asked female and male managers and female elected officeholders to rate 11 different barriers for their impact on three critical areas of a woman municipal manager's career: recruitment/hiring, promotion, and effectiveness.

On the whole, males are less apt to see barriers as important to female entry into the field, promotion up a career ladder, or effective performance on the job. Female managers are the most likely group surveyed to rate barriers as important and to perceive them as stumbling blocks across all three situational contexts. Elected

women tend to closely share the perceptions of their female administrative peers, rather than to share the outlook of the male administrators.

Women and men agree that barriers are the most serious at the recruitment/hiring and the promotional stages for females in municipal management. The top three barriers named by male managers are:

. *insufficient numbers of women in the managerial labor pool*

. *lack of training and/or educational qualifications*

. *individual personality traits*

All three of these barriers place the blame for women's lack of penetration in the managerial ranks not on the system, but on women themselves.

In contrast, the top three barriers named by women managers are:

. *individual personality traits*

. *discrimination by employers*

. *stereotypes about women's roles in society*

While a barrier related to individual personality traits may place some of the blame on women, the combination of this barrier with the other two which were highly ranked may also point to serious problems within the work place and society in general. Women managers feel that sexism in one form or another impedes their further integration and upward mobility in municipal management.

Among the restraints limiting upward movement of women on a municipal management career path, nine of the 11 issues listed on the survey questionnaire emerged as important barriers to women's advancement in the field. The perceptions of female and male managers usually do not coincide. Female and male managers do agree, however, on two barriers: insufficient training and/or inadequate educational qualifications; the small numbers of women in the labor pool. These two issues are significant barriers from the viewpoint of both women and men.

Female and male managers differ sharply in their ratings of three other issues: discrimination by employers; difficulty in being taken seriously; exclusion from male networks. Women rate these three issues as highly important and formidable barriers to their advancement in the municipal management field. Male managers consider these issues as less important in understanding women's status.

Three other barriers draw high ratings from female managers while male managers consistently rate them as less important. Women consider the problems of stereotyping about women's roles in society, prejudice by public and governmental employees, and individual personality traits as critical roadblocks to their advancement.

In addition to exploring each of these nine barriers which were ranked as important by female and male managers, the issue of human sexuality in the work environment will be explored for its negative impact on a woman's chances to be hired or promoted, or to perform effectively on the job. This sensitive and often overlooked dilemma of sexual tension between female and male managers in the work place was examined in the telephone interviews. Managers stressed the importance of this issue and described it as a serious barrier that confronts women professionally.

Elected women agree with female managers about the importance of exclusion from male networks, stereotyping about women's roles in society, and the difficulties women face in being taken seriously. They concur with women and men managers on the problems of lack of training or educational qualifications and the insufficient numbers of women in the management labor pool. They are less likely than their female administrative peers to see discrimination by employers and individual personality traits as serious problems. Perhaps one explanation is that often they are the employers and do not like to think of themselves in discriminatory terms.

Lack of Training and/or Educational Qualifications

The parallel perceptions of female and male managers about the importance of lack of training and/or educational qualifications, and the insufficient numbers of women in the management labor pool are striking. As Tables 7.4 and 7.5 indicate, equal percentages of female and male managers believe that these two barriers are critical stumbling blocks to women in government service at the recruitment, hiring and promotional levels.

TABLE 7.4: LACK OF TRAINING AND/OR EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

Rating	Female Municipal Managers' Career								
	Recruitment/Hiring			Promotion			Effectiveness		
	F	M	E	F	M	E	F	M	E
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Somewhat to Very Important	82	82	81	82	82	77	73	80	72
Not Very Important	18	18	19	18	18	23	27	20	28
Total	(316)	(196)	(295)	(307)	(195)	(277)	(303)	(194)	(275)

F = Female Managers M = Male Managers E = Elected Women

Eighty-two percent of female and male managers rate the lack of educational background and training as somewhat to very important at entry level and in moving women up a promotional career ladder. Male managers are slightly more likely (80%) than their female counterparts (73%) to feel that this barrier is also critical to a woman's effective performance on the job. Our findings (in Part III of this report) document the present reality that males have more formal educational credentials and training than their female colleagues in municipal management. Yet this finding is tempered by the fact that younger females entering municipal management at the beginning and middle management levels are beginning to resemble their male counterparts

in educational achievement levels. Additionally, the growing numbers of young women entering graduate programs of public and business administration around the nation will provide a larger pool of educationally credentialed young professionals in the future. For example, in 1973, only 10 percent of the 12,600 M.P.A. students were female according to a survey conducted by the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. In their 1977 survey, NASPAA reported that females represented 22 percent of the 24,836 students identified. So the supply of career-oriented women geared toward the municipal management field is steadily increasing. Yet, today there is an acute awareness of women's lack of training or education on the part of both female and male managers, as well as total accord between them about the importance of this barrier.

TABLE 7.5: INSUFFICIENT NUMBERS OF WOMEN IN THE MANAGEMENT LABOR POOL

Rating	Female Municipal Managers' Career								
	Recruitment/Hiring			Promotion			Effectiveness		
	F %	M %	E %	F %	M %	E %	F %	M %	E %
Somewhat to Very Important	85	85	90	83	83	78	69	58	61
Not Very Important	15	15	10	17	17	22	31	42	39
Total	(308)	(197)	(301)	(298)	(193)	(282)	(291)	(187)	(277)

The lack of women available for managerial positions is closely related to the educational barrier. The consistent percentages (85% for recruitment/hiring and 83% for promotional opportunities) among female and male managers indicates an awareness of the present job market and the difficulties presented when there is a limited number of managerial women to recruit, hire, and promote.

As women continue to make breakthroughs through affirmative action efforts,

through their own educational achievements, and through their growing confidence on the job, this barrier should become less and less prohibitive.

In summary, the two issues that evoke close agreement between female and male managers are barriers that are changing across time. They are also roadblocks that women can redress through their own efforts. In contrast, the three barriers to be discussed next not only highlight sharp disagreement between female and male managers, but also challenge employers and male colleagues to eliminate discrimination in the work place and to include women in the powerful networks that affect decision-making at the municipal level.

Discrimination by Employers

The issue of sex discrimination is one that permeates managers' comments throughout the telephone interviews. It is also highlighted on the survey questionnaire when women consistently rank the problem of discrimination by employers as more important than their male colleagues, regardless of the situational context. Table 7.6 summarizes the levels of importance that female and male managers attach to the issue of discrimination by employers.

TABLE 7.6: DISCRIMINATION BY EMPLOYERS

Rating	Female Municipal Managers' Career								
	Recruitment/Hiring			Promotion			Effectiveness		
	F	M	E	F	M	E	F	M	E
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Somewhat to Very Important	85	70	79	86	69	78	80	61	63
Not Very Important	15	30	21	14	31	22	20	39	37
Total	(309)	(192)	(291)	(306)	(194)	(277)	(300)	(195)	(276)

Women administrators in our sample describe the frustration of watching younger,

less experienced men being groomed and given assignments that lead to a city manager's post while they are left waiting in support positions. Because women have traditionally played a second-string role, they are still viewed as assistants while males are readied for top management jobs.

Male administrators in our sample believe that a woman has a tougher time in management because she has to "overpresent" herself. Another example of a situation of sexual inequality is that men can be average while women must be outstanding. A female assistant to the city manager in a southern metropolitan city says, "On the whole, women in management have to be smarter than men. There are fewer of them and they already have paid their dues through graduate school. They have to work harder and be brighter than their male colleagues to get the job in the first place."

Other studies have documented the barrier of sex discrimination within the private sector corporate setting. Marion Woods finds that women executives need more than the basic personnel requirements of technical competence and educational credentials.[12] The managerial woman must not only be sharper than her male counterpart, but she must also demonstrate competence over longer periods of time, resulting in long apprenticeships and extended waiting periods for promotions.

In the work of Rosen and Jerdee, subtle forms of sex discrimination were found operating within organizations.[13] Management showed a greater concern for the career paths of men rather than women, and managerial skepticism about a woman's ability to handle the dual career demands of work and family life was found.

Difficulty in Being Taken Seriously

Sex discrimination and difficulty in being taken seriously go hand-in-hand, yet female and male managers differ sharply in how critically they perceive the problem of lack of credibility to be for a woman in municipal management.

TABLE 7.7: DIFFICULTY IN BEING TAKEN SERIOUSLY

Rating	Female Municipal Managers' Career								
	Recruitment/Hiring			Promotion			Effectiveness		
	F %	M %	E %	F %	M %	E %	F %	M %	E %
Somewhat to Very Important	74	47	71	78	54	72	78	53	66
Not Very Important	26	53	29	22	46	28	22	47	34
Total	(299)	(189)	(293)	(298)	(191)	(284)	(295)	(193)	(283)

Seventy-four percent of female managers believe that difficulty in being taken seriously hampers their recruitment and hiring chances and 78 percent of females feel that it hampers their promotional prospects. Only 47 percent of male managers agree that credibility is a problem in the recruitment/hiring stage and 54 percent of males recognize it is an obstacle to promotional opportunity for women.

The credibility dilemma takes many forms. Women say that often their phone calls or requests for information are not returned or answered. Their presence and suggestions at meetings are ignored. They are excluded from the decision-making process. Even when they are asked for an opinion, they are frequently second-guessed by a male. A female assistant department head from Maryland explained a situation she encountered: "My boss was explaining something to me and he was being very repetitious about the whole thing. I sort of turned around and said, 'Do you see somebody dumb in this room?' It took him a while to catch on to it. I understood what he was talking about even before he said anything."

In part, the difficulties that women face in being taken seriously stem from societal attitudes which limit women from assuming professional roles. The belief that a woman's place is in the home, caring for children and husband is obviously at odds with a female municipal manager's career. Some male administrators will readily

admit, "I have a rough time taking a woman seriously." When he turns on the TV set at night, a man is likely to see women portrayed as cooks, laundry experts and advocates for household detergents. It is difficult to grant her professional respect when she is making policy instead of serving coffee. Older male department heads grew up in another era. For them, women manage the household, not the city. These men are accustomed to women whose roles are to support men's professional activities. They find it difficult and disconcerting to learn new rules for professional behavior between the sexes.

Among our "hidden managers" (the clerk/treasurer/registrars), the problems of credibility and difficulty in being taken seriously are especially acute. Their job responsibilities have grown enormously in recent years, yet their lack of educational credentials and their traditional secretarial backgrounds lead to special problems. In Florida, several former clerks have assumed village manager positions, and the image adjustment has not been easy. A male village manager from that state puts it this way: "It was a situation where good old Elaine, who has been the town clerk for years, is made manager. It affected other managers around here. They all said, 'Hey, this lady is nice, but she is basically a clerk.' It diminished our positions. She hung on for a couple of years, and grasped for what she could get, and it worked, but it was hard for her."

In other states, other women administrators in our telephone sample experienced similar problems in establishing their credibility. In Pennsylvania a woman moved in and out of township employment twice as a secretary before becoming a township manager. She believes the reaction was, "Who does she think she is, she was just a secretary. I wouldn't want her as my township manager." In Indiana, a former clerk/treasurer chooses to put her words, ideas, and programs into the mouth of a male board member who is the finance chairman because, "When he speaks, people listen."

A male city administrator from Kansas describes how he gets a lot of good,

mature, well-thought-out ideas from a female city clerk and a female deputy clerk because they tell him, "It will mean more if you say it." "These women were around a long time before I was, and they will be around after I leave. Yet they believe people will listen more if I say it. This attitude is in their minds. I want them to push their own ideas and make people listen."

Exclusion From Informal Male Networks

The last barrier about which women and men differ sharply in their perceptions relate to women's exclusion from informal male networks. Table 7.8 summarizes female and male rankings of the importance of this barrier to recruitment/hiring, promotion and effectiveness for women im municipal management.

TABLE 7.8: EXCLUSION FROM INFORMAL MALE NETWORKS

Rating	Female Municipal Managers' Career								
	Recruitment/Hiring			Promotion			Effectiveness		
	F %	M %	E %	F %	M %	E %	F %	M %	E %
Somewhat to Very Important	75	54	75	74	55	70	67	49	54
Not Very Important	25	46	25	26	45	30	33	51	46
Total	(310)	(194)	(295)	(307)	(193)	(279)	(305)	(195)	(279)

Approximately three-quarters of female managers consider exclusion from influential male networks to be a significant barrier in situations of recruitment/hiring and promotion. Only slightly more than half of male managers agree with their female colleagues' assessment of the problem.

The "old boys" network, as it is described by managers in our sample, takes many forms. It exists and operates in towns across the nation, whether they are urban or rural, large or small. Its nucleus can consist of powerful businessmen in a community

or town patriarchs who exert considerable influence on community decision-making. Sometimes it extends male connections from school and college into the work place. And it always operates informally and usually outside of the 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. office day.

A male finance officer in Oregon describes the "old boys" network this way: "It is cooperative and informational. It is a valuable resource of getting ideas, learning what citizens really want, and coming up with the names of people that can help you."

Woman managers perceive the male network operating on the golf course, through sports events and activities, at the Elks Club or Kiwanis and at the country club. A female deputy city manager in Michigan says:

> *I'll probably never be able to overcome being out of this network because I'll never be considered one of the boys. The influence is asserted in private, informal ways and in personal relationships. I lose the feel for what's really going on at times, and I realize that somebody's gotten to somebody and I would have known that if I were in with the guys.*

Although exclusion from the old boys network is usually perceived as a barrier, it can also be the result of avoiding sexuality in the work place. A male finance director from Michigan explains the phenomenon this way:

> *If decisions are made after work at the bar--and let's face it, it does happen--or out on the golf course, it is hard for me socially to have a woman in my group. Once you start doing this, the next thing you know, especially in our community of about 21,000, people wonder, 'Gee, there must be more to that than business.' So from the standpoint of social mores, I have a problem. After work I can go out with the guys and have a drink, but not with a woman, or my wife would come down and drag me home. Well, it wouldn't be that drastic maybe...but it would be a problem.*

Overall, women administrators watch the male network operate and realize that they are excluded from it. One female manager referred to it as an intricately constructed tinker toy building stretching up to the highest electoral offices and reaching down to the lowest maintenance levels. Another woman captures the gender

differences that characterize the network in a sarcastic phrase. She calls it the "urinal club."

Discrimination by employers, difficulties in being taken seriously, and exclusion from male networks are barriers that often merge together and form a set of problems that women cannot combat alone. The fact that male managers perceive as least important the very barriers that women rate as very important, explains some of the difficulty in overcoming these barriers. Sensitizing employers and male colleagues to the disillusionment and frustration that female managers experience when they confront these three barriers is only part of the solution. The familiar refrain heard over and over during the course of this study--"attitudes change slowly"--implies that these barriers change incrementally and are likely to confront and trouble municipal managerial women for some time to come.

The next three issues we shall discuss present some problems that women must address in their style of management as they deal with the lingering effects of feminine stereotyping and prejudice from fellow employees.

Individual Personality Traits

Table 7.9 indicates that female managers are much more likely than their male counterparts to consider individual personality traits such as being too aggressive or not aggressive enough as a critical barrier.

TABLE 7.9: INDIVIDUAL PERSONALITY TRAITS

Rating	Female Municipal Managers' Career								
	Recruitment/Hiring			Promotion			Effectiveness		
	F %	M %	E %	F %	M %	E %	F %	M %	E %
Somewhat to Very Important	87	72	71	91	76	76	89	73	71
Not Very Important	13	28	29	9	24	24	11	27	29
Total	(305)	(189)	(292)	(307)	(190)	(287)	(304)	(192)	(283)

Very high percentages of females consider this barrier somewhat to very important across the range of situational contexts: 87 percent for recruitment/hiring, 91 percent for promotion, and 89 percent for effectiveness on the job. Males consistently rate this barrier as less important across all three categories: 72 percent for recruitment/hiring, 76 percent for promotion, and 73 percent for effectiveness on the job.

Female managers in our telephone interviews explained how personality traits affected their job performance. In Ohio, a female community development director says her lack of assertiveness disturbs her. "I feel inadequate if I cannot be forceful enough to get across one of my ideas and get the men to accept it. I also feel it is because I am a woman. If I were a man, they would respect me and accept my ideas automatically."

Another female assistant city manager from Florida said, "Part of our problem we bring on ourselves, because we still feel uncomfortable and ambivalent in our role. We don't know if we want to be women or managers. If we are ambivalent, the men look on us the same way."

Still other female managers point out that women have to be assertive and consider themselves to be serious contenders in their managerial roles.

Yet some women find themselves in what Chapman and Luthans refer to as the "behavioral bind."[7] When a female manager tries to be strong and assertive, bent on taking a leadership role and moving up a career ladder, she discovers that what works for a male in management often backfires on a female. Typical female behavior is often misinterpreted as weak and passive in dealing with male colleagues. Yet when a female assumes traditional male behavior, she is perceived as too domineering, too pushy, too bitchy.

Problems of Stereotyping

Stereotypes about women's roles in society operate as another obstacle that blocks the advancement and hiring of women in government service. Table 7.10 shows that once again female managers perceive a barrier as more critical to their upward mobility than their male counterparts.

TABLE 7.10: STEREOTYPES ABOUT WOMEN'S ROLE IN SOCIETY

Rating	Female Municipal Managers' Career								
	Recruitment/Hiring			Promotion			Effectiveness		
	F %	M %	E %	F %	M %	E %	F %	M %	E %
Somewhat to Very Important	85	71	82	84	69	79	78	64	70
Not Very Important	15	29	18	16	31	21	22	36	30
Total	(309)	(194)	(302)	(305)	(194)	(287)	(303)	(195)	(279)

Women see sex stereotyping as a serious restraint to their recruitment and hiring (85%) and to their promotion in the field (84%). Fewer males see stereotyping as an important barrier to entry level positions for women, (71%) or see it as a barrier to women's promotional opportunities (69%).

Women managers frequently refer to the "secretary syndrome" where they are repeatedly mistaken for clerical aides. One female assistant city manager recalls going to professional conventions with her male city manager and being mistakenly introduced as his wife.

There is another less blatant but equally important effect that stems from the barrier of stereotyping--that of paternalistic sheltering of female employees. This more subtle form of stereotyping is expressed in many ways. It is manifested in the hesitancy to critize a woman subordinate, or to give her negative feedback which is

important for improving her performance on the management team. It arises in the reluctance to give women distasteful jobs in the organization--for example, the job of firing people or hearing employee appeals. Men who are socialized to protect women avoid communicating hard facts about the organization, and shelter women from participating in activities involving trade-offs and informal bargaining.

Prejudice of Fellow Employees

The final issue that women believe affects them in the work place is prejudice of public and governmental employees. Table 7.11 summarizes the differences in the perceptions of female and male managers regarding how this barrier affects women in three different circumstances.

TABLE 7.11: PREJUDICE OF PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENTAL EMPLOYEES

Rating	Female Municipal Managers' Career								
	Recruitment/Hiring			Promotion			Effectiveness		
	F %	M %	E %	F %	M %	E %	F %	M %	E %
Somewhat to Very Important	78	61	72	77	58	70	73	52	60
Not Very Important	22	39	28	23	42	30	27	48	40
Total	(294)	(189)	(302)	(291)	(190)	(281)	(288)	(192)	(280)

Seventy-eight percent of women believe that prejudice is a critical factor in the recruitment/hiring stage, with 61 percent of men agreeing. Female managers continue to rate this barrier highly in the two remaining circumstances of promotion (77%) and effectiveness (74%), while only slightly more than half of their male colleagues concur with that assessment.

Prejudice takes many forms. It is the reluctance of both women and men to work

under a woman manager. It is the aversion to giving women the power or clout that accompanies their titles. It is the withholding of information or help that a female needs to do her job just because she is a woman, and it is the use of a female manager as a scapegoat for the errors of others in the organization.

A female clerk/treasurer from Connecticut describes the situation she faced when she assumed her management position. "I felt a great deal of animosity toward me by the people who were already working for the city. I felt as though I had to prove to them that I could do the job. Subsequently, city employees have admitted to me that they felt a great deal of apprehension in working with me because I am a woman," she explained. The distrust of her decisions and general feelings of animosity gradually subsided as city employees watched her handle policy problems and make decisions which proved her credibility. Yet she feels she would not have faced this problem had she been a male assuming the same job.

The "behavioral bind" that female managers experience if they are too assertive/not assertive enough makes the barrier of individual personality traits an issue that women cannot address completely on their own. Male reaction to the "domineering" woman manager is in part the result of feminine stereotyping that places women in supportive, passive roles, nurturing and helping men. The barriers of stereotyping and prejudice of public and governmental employees require a mental readjustment that redefines women's societal roles to encompass a broad range of leadership and managerial jobs. Only when men and women no longer define a woman's role as passive and secondary will these last three barriers be recorded in history books as archaic discriminatory practices that once restricted opportunities for women.

Problems in Human Sexuality in the Work Environment

Careers in government often place employees in a community goldfish bowl where their actions and decisions are open to public judgment. As more and more women enter

the public arena in managerial positions, the issue of sexuality in the work place poses increasingly difficult problems. In telephone interviews with managers, we posed questions about human sexuality in the work environment and we were barraged with reactions from both female and male administrators. Their reactions lead us to believe that the issue is real, recurrent, and important.

Overwhelmingly, female and male managers mention the tensions associated with professionally related social life and travel as troublesome problems they confront in their daily work environment. Often it is less the reality of sexual involvement between a female and male colleague, and more the fear of gossip, innuendo, and what others will think if they have lunch or dinner, or have to travel out of town on business with a colleague of the opposite sex.

The issue of sexual advances and overtures between professional women and men sometimes arises. When it does, female and male managers seem to abide by a general rule--don't get involved. "For a woman on the way up, it is the quickest way down," warns a female assistant to a city manager in Alabama. "Involvement is taboo," she says. The same rule is generally applied to genuine attractions between female and male colleagues. Few managers mentioned the issue of being romantically attracted to a colleague of the opposite sex and, of those who did, no manager was willing to act on her/his attraction. "It is better to suppress the feeling than get involved in a situation that could become messy when one partner becomes uninterested. It is just not worth the price. There is an unwritten rule here, that dating and mixing in that way is frowned upon," explains a young, single, female administrative assistant from Virginia.

In contrast to the concise warnings surrounding the issues of sexual advances and attractions, most managers had much to say on the issue of tensions affecting work situations and career opportunities:

> *If I say to the mayor, 'Let's go and have lunch,' and the mayor is a man, then you know immediately there is going to be someone in the community or in the county who is going to say she is sleeping with him. Sex is an issue, and it is a very real issue. And if anybody tells you it is not, they are crazy. I have almost decided that that may turn out in the long run to be an advantage because you are going to force a different kind of communication on problems that really--maybe--don't belong at the local bar or the Lions Club.*
>
> Female Assistant to a Missouri City Manager

Until recently, the city management profession has been a predominantly male field. Male unfamiliarity in working with female managers as equals leads to some troublesome sexual problems. Historically, men have been accustomed to dealing with women as mothers, wives, and girlfriends. The entertainment industry has portrayed women as sexy actresses, pin-up poster models, and bathing beauties. Dealing with women as equals, colleagues, supervisors, and managers is disconcerting when one's main experiences with women are in domestic situations. It is hard to work with women dressed in business suits and acting like professional colleagues when one is used to viewing women as sex objects.

A period of transition is evident. It is a transition in which many old attitudes and beliefs co-exist with newer behaviors urging social equality and collegial cooperation. As one male finance director in Michigan put it, "It is a real problem. If everyone accepted the fact that women and men can work together without anything happening, then I wouldn't have a problem. But we still have not said that is alright and everything is aboveboard. It doesn't work that way and the entertainment industry, especially the movies, keeps pointing out what happens."

At a management level, business lunches and dinners are commonplace events. A

female city manager from Florida pointed out that in these times business discussions take place over lunch or dinner because it is a lot more satisfactory than in an office where there are constant ringing phones and interruptions. Sometimes there is a hesitancy to include a female in an all male group or with a single male because of fear of gossip and innuendo:

> *I think it is too bad because we lose a chance to communicate, and the more personally acquainted we are and the more informal the conversation can be, the more valuable the content. We just don't have enough time when we sit down here at board meetings and try to relate everything that should be related. And there is the added hesitancy to tell the public all of the angles. If I met these people more often, I think it would benefit them too because they would know more about the inside workings of the town.*
>
> Female Town Manager in Indiana

This hesitancy to share working lunches and dinners exists for both females and males and, at times, it has even affected job interviews. Several women administrators describe job interviews for positions in which their predecessors were men who frequently went to lunch with council members. This activity was perceived as a valuable part of the job. Councilmen acting as interviewers for female managerial applicants recognized this important communication link and wanted to preserve it, but at the same time were concerned that being seen often in public with the same woman could be bad for their reputation.

Fear that the town will talk is a real barrier to continuous communications both inside and outside the work environment. Strategies for dealing with it range from ignoring the situation totally to avoiding dinners and sometimes even lunches with married members of the opposite sex:

> *There was period when I had to meet the same man for lunch or dinner working on a special project. I know there was talk. Let them comment all they want. This is a small town, and in small towns the number of places where you can go with someone is limited. As a result, you are seen in the same place repeatedly. That is something you have to just live with and ignore.*
>
> Female City Clerk/Treasurer from Connecticut

At the other extreme, a female community development director in Ohio tried to establish communications with a newly elected mayor in her town. She experienced a series of rebuffs from him before finding herself in a group of city employees at an informal meeting in a local bar after a town meeting. Finally, there were only two people left--herself and the mayor. She thought, "This is great. It will give me a chance to go over some items on my agenda and inform him of my projects one-on-one." Much to her chagrin, he leaped up from the table, downing his drink in one final gulp, and made his fast goodbyes before she had so much as a chance to phrase one question. "I think he felt very uncomfortable with me because I am a woman," she said.

Some women draw a fine line concerning meetings outside the office. A female county administrator in Florida decided that she would accept luncheon meetings because she could handle gossip about her behavior in broad daylight. But dinner or a drink with a male colleague under any circumstances were ruled out because "who needs rumors, especially a woman?"

Other female administrators echoed her view with the question, "Why fan the flames of public gossip?" Unspoken rules develop. For example: I don't go out with a male alone. I will attend a luncheon meeting with other people present. If the man is married, a drink and anything that could look the least bit social is out of the question.

The smaller the town, the less likely it will be that a female and male colleague will go to dinner to discuss business. "It just isn't done," explains a male town manager from Maine. "There is very little going out to eat unless it is with your spouse or friends for an evening. Everyone brown-bags it around here. I would find an excuse to go out to eat alone or else find a way to conduct business in the office rather than go against local custom."

The more metropolitan the community, or when a husband and wife are both working

professionals in the community, the situation seems to change. A female administrative assistant to an Iowa city manager explains, "My husband is a director of community development. I often bump into him at a business lunch at the same restaurant, and we are both with different people. It doesn't bother him and it doesn't bother me. Everyone in town knows us as professionals. It is a natural part of our job."

A male village manager from Florida expresses the same opinion. "My wife and I are both professionals and I don't think any more of her going out with someone for lunch than I would of myself. And I don't worry about what my employees think either. Yet, I know of a colleague who will not have lunch with a female peer unless a 'chaperone' is along. I think it is an individual decision."

Another problem of sexuality that surfaced during our telephone interviews is the issue of resentments or anxieties from a colleague's spouse concerning out-of-town trips and workshops.

> *I travel a lot. It is part of my job. I know I get the cold shoulder from my boss's wife and there is talk. I ignore it. What else can I do? When I attend a workshop in Washington or Chicago, I have to sleep overnight.*
>
> Female Economic Development Coordinator from Ohio

Several women managers choose to deal with this problem outright. A Michigan deputy city manager deliberately made friends with the city manager's wife to defuse any threats or questions she may have had regarding their professional relationship. Although this strategy often works, questions and perceptions of "what might happen" remain as stumbling blocks to professional development.

A male city clerk from Arizona says that he avoids traveling with a woman colleague because his wife would be "suspicious." "She doesn't even like all these night meetings," he explains.

A director of public works in Wisconsin related a conversation he had with a salesman for the city. The first comment the salesman made was that everybody knows

why business people go to workshops, seminars and conventions--the food, the drinks, and the wild women. "Now we know that isn't the case, but people have this in their minds. Why else are these meetings always held in big cities? I can see where in a small community like ours, if you go out of state or even out of county too often, people start to talk."

Even when the situation is beyond reproach, individuals still opt out of overnight trips for personal reasons. Traditionally, township managers in Pennsylvania had a weekend retreat where they spent concentrated time comparing notes and brainstorming. The setting was a remote mountain cabin in the woods. A female township manager in her 60's declined the invitation to join her male colleagues on their management retreat, not because she didn't trust them but because she did not want her husband to be subjected to any kidding that might result from her participation. "Goodness knows, they are all younger than I am," she said, "but my husband didn't feel comfortable about my going."

Perhaps the most maddening type of sexual discrimination cited by our telephone interviewees involved situations in which other people believe a woman professional got her job not because of her credentials or ability, but because of a sexual relationship with a male superior. A female department head from California says, "When I first came into what you would call mid-management, the talk around the office was that I got the job because I had a housekeeping arrangement with my boss. I was stunned."

Sexual harrassment and hate campaigns are not unheard of. In one case, a woman who rebuffed the advances of a male superior found herself targeted for sabotage of her programs and was undercut with her staff and the subcontractors with whom she worked. Her lesson from the incident was that she should have known how to turn away more gently. "You have to learn to be cool about everything and say, 'Gosh

that's an attractive offer, but I'm not really into that right now.' You have to be tactful so that you don't hurt anybody's feelings."

In another instance, after a devastating campaign of innuendo and gossip, a woman administrator picked up her career and left the town seeking other employment. "You have to learn to cope with these things. You have to know what to say and what not to say--and when to give up."

One strategy has been identified by women managers as the "neuter stage." Women dress in gray, navy, or brown, wearing little or no makeup, and choosing businesslike short hairstyles.

But other women insist that despite the problems they encounter, they must fight to be themselves and retain their own identities.

> *I won't do that anymore. I'm always businesslike in my demeanor and in my dress, but I won't avoid silk blouses anymore. We can't be asexual. It is a cop-out. It is denying something that we are going to have to take the risk for and the credit for and learn to deal with in the end--being a woman manager. We really don't have the time to waste talent anymore. There is too little talent floating around. We can't waste it simply because someone is the wrong color or sex.*
>
> Female Department Head of a Texas City

Given these formidable barriers ranging from discrimination to problems of human sexuality in the work environment, what strategies have women evolved for overcoming them and moving forward to build credibility and leadership stature? Here are some suggestions from women administrators in our sample: Persevere and don't give up. Stand up and be counted even though the male administrators may not want to count you. Don't be pushed into a management back seat. Control information and use it as a lever to influence policymaking. If you do your job well enough, they will have to come to you for information. Be assertive and strong in the beginning even though that may be difficult in a new managerial role. If you're weak at the outset, people

will resent new aggressiveness later on. Push yourself in there and make management see that you are interested and valuable and should be included whether they realize it or not. Recognize that you can't always be loved or even liked and settle for respect. Attach yourself to a male mentor, or to a female when available, who can take you under his/her wing, guide you along, support you when you come up with innovative ideas and gain organizational support for you.

These suggestions are easier to make than to act on. But according to female administrators, they work when a woman refuses to be defeated or stifled. Professional women believe that time is an important factor. Time can whittle away the barriers standing in the path of an ambitious female manager.

Age also seems to offer hope for the future. Here is the view of a male assistant city manager from Ohio: "Younger people in administration work together, whether they are female or male. To me that is refreshing. I'm sure it is trying for a female fighting to get into the field to come up against these old war horses. Time will change all that. Younger people getting into the profession are not nearly taken so much aback by a woman in the management spot."

What Are the Support Systems for Municipal Managers

Municipal managers have a variety of potential support mechanisms that are available to them. These mechanisms include technical assistance workshops, continuing education courses, informational conferences, professional organizations and associations, civic and service organizations, and political or social action groups. We have already discussed in Part III of this study the workshops our respondents reported attending. Many of these workshops are sponsored by professional organizations which offer peer sharing experiences and informational sessions.

Professional Organizations

One route to career recognition and an inroad into peer networks and informational sharing is the professional association within the urban management field such as the International City Management Association (ICMA) and the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA).

In the telephone interviews we surveyed attitudes on whether women administrators felt professional organizations were doing enough to meet the needs of women in the field. While it was recognized that leadership positions in ICMA or ASPA boosted one's visibility and career mobility, women administrators also felt that there was very little incentive presently for these organizations to devote the time and energy to a female constituency because there aren't enough women in management or in public administration "to worry about."

ICMA ranked highly as a professional organization that has made a special effort in the last five years to serve minorities and women in the field. Their Minority Executive Placement Program, the Women in Management Subcommittee, and a new newsletter--Public Management Women--were all cited as examples of the awareness and efforts extended toward female members.

"I think my involvement with ICMA has done more to make me feel like a professional than anything else that has happened. Professional organizations for women may be your key," explains a female Texas department head, "They offer a vehicle for a woman to rise within the field and become a part of a greater network."

Among the suggestions offered by women administrators to insure that professional organizations meet their needs are: placement assistance, special interest publications, greater visibility of women on panels and in magazine articles published by the organization, special training sessions to sensitize males in the profession, and to provide women with role models, support systems, and technical assistance.

One female assistant to the city manager in Missouri first went to a national ICMA conference on a special scholarship. "One of the items women talked about was the lack of role models in the profession. That's true. When I came back, I was in the job less than two months and all of a sudden I am a role model for other people. That is a frightening position to be put in when you're not sure yourself what you're doing," she said.

Despite the efforts of professional organizations to meet the special needs of women and minorities, some women administrators feel the organizations are still geared toward male professionals. "For the most part, it is assumed that women are going to be an assistant to somebody. They are not going to be a city manager or they are not going to be a top level administrator. This is just the way it seems to be," says a female clerk/treasurer from Connecticut.

And while a talent bank is seen as a positive means of helping increase the numbers of women in public management, many of our women administrators mention the lack of status granted to assistants in ICMA.

"I'd like to see ICMA involve more assistants in their activities. This would provide outreach to women and minorities because we tend to occupy those ranks more than the top ranks. Yet, I think you have to continually beat on their consciousness that women are capable and able," explained a female management assistant from Arizona.

A Close-Up Portrait of an Organization

The membership of ICMA is predominantly white, male and conservative. One source of innovative change has been pressure from assistants, women and other minorities for a share of power.

The assistants group, while it is large in numbers, is weak in clout. Ever

shifting membership and the lack of an organizational structure to make demands heard places this group at a disadvantage. The absence of a permanent communication system is a key problem for assistants, many of whom are women and minorities. There are eight statewide assistant associations functioning in the nation, and some of them face budgetary problems. Most assistants hope, plan, and want to become a city manager someday. Permanent communication is hampered by the fact that the constituency base is transient and membership changes from year to year.

ICMA's function as a professional organization was geared in the past toward city managers. Professional activities are now geared to a range of management positions yet certain barriers still remain. The issue of corporate (full) membership is a real one for women and minorities. You cannot vote, serve on a committee, or be considered for a leadership role unless you are a corporate (full) member. The dues paying schedule requires that full members pay a percentage of a portion of their salary in addition to a set membership fee. In some cases, a city will pay dues for the city manager, but not for administrative assistants. In a time of budget cuts and Proposition 13 backlash, the dues issue hampers assistants from asserting full status in the organization.

Nominations criteria are another organizational tool that ICMA uses to choose leaders. Nominations are handled by the three past presidents and a blue ribbon committee. Only one name is chosen for each position, allowing for no competition. The one executive board position which gives vent to "other interests" is the vice president at-large. In the last couple of years, a woman or a minority member has held this position. A former vice president at-large says, "For two years this organization has been saying they changed the name from manager to management. I say it is time to now change the game. Half of the membership of ICMA are assistants, and of that half, another one-third are women. In the long run, I see the organization losing if it does not reach out and absorb fully its assistants constituency base."

An incoming vice president at-large adds, "This is a conservative organization that doesn't flow and change easily with the times. It reflects the small town influence. It is us that will sensitize ICMA to change and stress. The coalition has to be women, minorities and assistants. For the next annual convention we are going to set up our own network so that assistants can stay at houses within the host city rather than pay expensive hotel fees. We are telling them to eat at McDonald's and let the prime rib go. If you want to be a city manager you have to get used to making sacrifices."

ICMA, by its rules and regulations, insures a continuation of the type of leadership it is accustomed to--fee structure renders many assistants voteless and powerless, at-large vice presidencies serve as a safety valve for small group pressures coming from the black, Hispanic, or feminist sectors. While the organization allows the at-large seats to reflect a different type of representation, numerically those positions cannot swing a vote. Their main function is to raise the consciousness of the executive board to demands for change and in the best instances to get a share of power for constituent interests. An example of this was the successful effort to have a mid-year assistants' convention in Kansas City in 1977.

Professional organizations are not bound by affirmative action laws. Budgets and board positions work toward meeting the needs of the profession as a whole. It takes active, committed leadership--usually within the form of a caucus or subcommittee--to address the special constituency needs of women and minorities. ICMA stands out as a professional organization which has developed and changed in response to the growing numbers of women and minorities in its membership. This type of organizational activity is described in-depth in the Center's report "Women's Organizations in the Public Service: Toward Agenda Setting."

Organizational Memberships

Female and male municipal managers were asked to report their membership in professional organizations and their activity within those organizations. Table 7.12 summarizes the number of organizational memberships held by female and male municipal managers. It is apparent that managers are most likely to join professional organizations with females slightly more likely than males to join civic organizations and males more likely than females to join political, social action, or public interest groups.

TABLE 7.12: NUMBER AND TYPE OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS HELD BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Number of Memberships	Type of Organization					
	Professional		Civic		Polit./Soc. Action/Pub. Interest	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Zero	9	5	14	12	37	12
One	22	19	34	45	34	45
2 to 3	49	48	37	35	21	35
4 to 5	19	28	12	6	6	6
6 & Over	(2)	(2)	(6)	(2)	(3)	(2)
Total	(323)	(195)	(278)	(162)	(181)	(162)

Almost equal percentages of female and male managers report joining two to three professional organizations, yet males are more likely than females to report multiple memberships. Twenty-eight percent of male managers report joining four to five professional organizations, compared with 19 percent of female managers.

Municipal managerial women report slightly more activity in local civic groups and organizations than their male counterparts. Thirty-seven percent of women report two to three memberships in civic organizations compared with 35 percent of men, and another 12 percent of females report four to five memberships in civic organizations

compared with only six percent of males. Civic associations included groups such as PTA, League of Women Voters, Chamber of Commerce, United Way, and historical and preservation societies. Traditionally, women have joined as volunteers in civic organizations within their communities.

Male managers are more likely to report membership in political action groups, while 37 percent of female managers say they do not belong to any groups in this category. Yet, close to half of the males (45%) report at least one political, social action group membership and more than one-third (35%) report two to three such memberships.

The greater frequency with which male managers join professional and political, social action groups and organizations may help explain the strength of male networking that extends across organizations. Participation in organizations and groups often goes hand in hand with political activity. Developing public speaking and leadership skills in addition to building contacts and a grass roots community base are important spin-off benefits to organization membership. It is also possible that because males hold more city management positions overall, they join groups and organizations as a consequence of their municipal management position. Maintaining liaison and exchanging information with civic leaders may be viewed as critical to a management job.

When we asked municipal managers what kinds of professional organizations they belonged to, international/national organizations ranked first, followed by state, regional, and local groups. Fourteen percent of female managers report memberships in professional women's groups among their professional organizations. More than double the number of male managers report joining ICMA (55% as compared with 26% of female managers). Almost equal percentages of female (12%) and male (14%) managers list ASPA under international/national organizational memberships. Other national organizations listed are job specific such as the Municipal Finance Officers Association and the American Society for Planning Officials.

Within professional organizations, females are just as likely as males to hold leadership positions. Of those women who report holding or having held office, 70 percent report one to two offices and 21 percent report three to four offices compared with 75 percent of men who hold or have held one to two offices and 18 percent of men reporting three to four offices. Among the offices listed, women have held the full range of leadership positions from president down to secretary. Females are less likely to hold top leadership positions when compared with males. Thirty-two percent of females reporting offices cite presidencies as compared with 47 percent of males. Women are slightly more likely than men to chair a committee within a professional organization (20% as compared with 14% of men).

TABLE 7.13: NUMBER OF PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION MEETINGS ATTENDED WITHIN PAST FIVE YEARS BY TYPE OF MEETING

# of Professional Organization Meetings Attended Within Past Five Years	Type of Professional Organization Meeting					
	National		Regional		State	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Zero	34	32	22	21	12	5
1 to 9	62	64	49	57	64	63
10 to 19	3	3	10	7	13	20
20 to 29	(1)	(1)	10	9	4	4
30 to 39	(0)	(0)	(5)	(2)	4	5
40 to 49	(0)	(0)	(3)	(2)	(0)	(1)
50 & Over	(0)	(0)	5	3	3	3
Total	(181)	(131)	(208)	(126)	(255)	(170)

As Table 7.13 summarizes, there is very little difference between women and men in the number of professional organization meetings they report attending in the last five years. Of the three types of meetings, state meetings rank highest in attendance, followed by regional and national meetings. The majority of municipal managers have

attended one to nine of each type of meeting within the last five years, with the number of meetings attended during this period ranging up to a high of fifty and over. Overall, the majority of both female and male municipal managers join professional organizations, and the majority of them report high attendance at state, regional, and national professional organization meetings.

Female respondents were asked if a women's caucus operated within any of the organizations in which they held/hold membership and if one existed to indicate whether they were/are a caucus member. Of 54 female municipal managers who reported a women's caucus existing within an organization they held membership in, 46 percent reported that they joined the women's caucus while 54 percent said they did not.

In summary, it appears that women in municipal management actively join professional organizations, hold leadership roles, and attend meetings almost as frequently as men do. In addition, women are forging links through professional women's groups and organizations, and a small percentage of them have become active in women's caucuses within professional organizations. Yet, male managers, overall, tend to hold higher numbers of membership in professional groups and in politically oriented social action organizations. Perhaps this tendency for males to hold multiple memberships explains the informal male networks that are described by both female and male managers. As managerial women increase in number, it could be expected that they will join more professional organizations thus strengthening their informational and professional base.

As Part VI of this report summarized, one-third of elected women respondents said that a "new girls network" was operating in their towns. Often the beginnings of these networks lie in the League of Women Voters and in other civic organizations, or in the informal exchanges that take place between civic minded women in their professional and/or volunteer capacities. Professional organizations formed the

base of networking opportunities for 43 percent of elected women. Professional organizations also appear to form the beginnings of a network base among female municipal managers.

Special Advantages to Being A Female Municipal Manager

While both female and male administrators in our telephone interviews cited more disadvantages than advantages to being a woman in city management in 1979, some benefits were named. These include dubious advantages for which women often pay a price--for example, male overprotection and sexual charm. Other advantages mentioned may be temporary occurrences--for example, the high visibility female managers have in a sexually imbalanced professional world. Long-range advantages furthered by the women's rights movement and governmental mandates for affirmative action and equal employment opportunities have paved the way for new opportunities for career women. And perhaps the most important advantage named often by female and male managers is the perception that women are good listeners, sensitive to the needs of their community. This positive attribute often raises an important question about whether women will bring new approaches to problem solving in the work places they enter as influential professional managers.

Ironically, the most frequently mentioned advantage for a female manager is that men have a tendency to show women more consideration for their feelings than they would for another male. The "advantage" arises from persistent stereotyping of women. A male finance director from Michigan explains, "It is easier for me to go to another department head if he is a male and say, 'Hey, you're out of line.' It is tougher for me to do that with a female. I'm trying not to do that because I would rather be the same with everybody if I possibly can, but it happens. You know, we are taught

that men are stronger and women are the weaker sex. It is hard to overcome." The consequences of this "advantage" may be more detrimental than beneficial insofar as overprotection also thwarts professional growth.

Another male township manager in Maine echoes those thoughts. "There is a great hesitancy around here to criticize a woman. They revere the female status. They will take a potshot at a male manager anytime, not the female."

Indeed, women administrators perceive men treating them protectively, with kid gloves. A female city administrator from Ohio says she is treated a little more gingerly than a male would be in her position. "Men won't storm into my office and cuss me out the way they do other male directors around here."

Another female township manager in Pennsylvania says that when complainers drop into her office they usually preface their remarks with, "If you weren't a woman... ."

"You can go into the field and indicate to contractors and developers your interpretations of the ordinances and laws that you have carefully researched. Many times you can challenge and stop a project and do what is necessary to have the contractor comply with the laws, and not get hit with a shovel in the process. If you were a man, you would probably get socked." So states a female finance director in Kentucky.

The other dubious advantage that operates sometimes for, and other times against, female managers is feminine charm. It is an age-old story, one which many women would like to change. Nonetheless, at the present time, traditional womanly wiles still operate in mixed sex environments--some women know it and use it. As one assistant to a county manager in Virginia puts it, "It is the way a woman can smile. I think most men will find an attractive smile most disarming."

Woman administrators admit to using flattery, charm, and their femininity in the work environment when it will be perceived as a plus for them. "It works, so I use

it as a tactic when I think it will be helpful and it won't hurt me," says a young female administrative assistant from Ohio.

A frequently mentioned advantage resulting from the limited numbers of woman managers in top positions around the nation is the high visibility factor. A female benefits as the lone woman in an all male management group. When she walks into the room, there is immediate recognition. "The young men in their blue pinstriped suits are going to have to fight for that recognition. They have to speak up and say something intelligent. You just have to sit there and look intelligent. If you do nothing and you're low-key, you're probably ahead," states a female staff director of a metropolitan southern city.

A true advantage recognized by female and male managers is a woman's perceived ability to smooth ruffled tempers, to be empathetic to expressed concerns and to make people feel better by allowing them to vent their frustrations. Women administrators feel they are patient and "good listeners." Even though they cannot solve every staff problem passing through their office doors, they can be sounding boards to release frustrations. Sometimes this is an advantage, furthering effective job perfc.mance. A female finance director from North Carolina puts it this way, "Our psychology is a little different. I think sometimes we can effectuate a solution to problems by just simply having this feminine approach. Sometimes men are impatient and blunt and would be as successful as quickly or as smoothly." This advantage was mentioned in Part V in our discussion of differences in managerial styles between women and men, and it continually arises as a positive attribute that women are believed to have.

The cumulative effects of governmental affirmative action guidelines and the changing national consciousness resulting from the women's rights movement of the past decade have made the best women managers highly sought after employees. A male city manager from Ohio sums up the advantage developing from social change when he says, "Everybody is looking for a good woman administrator now. Because of affirmative action plans, we are looking for talented women for management positions."

EPILOGUE

Perceptions of Change

There used to be a joke in the early seventies dealing with the professional woman in local government. In a cartoon illustration of different types of managers, a caption reads "Typical Woman Manager." The illustration is blank. At that time, it was not far from the truth. In 1973, ICMA identified only 15 women listed as chief administrative officer positions in its Municipal Year Book. By 1975, ICMA could point to 37 women serving around the nation in the CAO capacity. And by 1979, the number of women serving in responsible positions as administrative heads of cities rose to 177.

Overall, women workers have made substantial progress during the last several years in their efforts to penetrate managerial positions. Several factors have contributed to the changes in lifestyle for American women. They include longer life expectancy; greater educational attainment; increased participation in the labor force. A substantial increase in the proportion of women in the labor force has occurred in the last several decades. In 1974, there were approximately 36 million women working. By 1980, this figure is expected to reach 39 million and by 1985, 42 million.[8] Current predictions from the U. S. Department of Labor indicate that eight out of 10 women will work for at least 25 years. As women join the managerial and administrative ranks, they will become less and less a rarity.

A considerable part of this progress is attributed to two important pieces of legislation at the federal level that paved the way for increased employment opportunities for women and encouraged equitable salaries--the Equal Pay Act of 1963; Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of sex. Title VII was a clear statement of a national policy favoring

equal employment opportunity. The magnitude of the effort it would take to completely equalize access to jobs and to fully open opportunities to women and minorities has yet to be realized.

The legal mandates of Title VII and the Equal Pay Act set the scene for what would be called affirmative action, a numerically based remedy with timetables and goals that would be tied in with the idea of contract compliance. Affirmative action has come to mean an evaluation of patterns of employment of women and minorities, identifying obstacles to their hiring, and setting goals and timetables to address the barriers to their employment. If contractors fail to follow these steps with the federal government, they can lose their contract. If the contractor is a state or local government, it will not be eligible for federal grants until its affirmative action plan is approved.

Proponents of affirmative action recognize that termination of overt practices of discrimination cannot end overnight and that change will not occur unless negative sanctions are attached to noncompliance.

In most municipalities affirmative action programs have been in effect for less than a decade. In our telephone interviews with municipal managers, respondents were asked if they observed change taking place in their own communities either in the numbers of women who they see getting administrative jobs, or in the amount of influence or power those women wield compared with the past. In addition, we asked if the federal government's affirmative action policies had any impact in their towns in either changing the hiring practices, changing attitudes, or altering the climate surrounding promotional opportunities.

Despite the barriers identified by both female and male administrators, (see Part VII of this report), respondents interviewed in our telephone survey remain generally optimistic about the prospects for change in employment and promotional

opportunities for women in the urban management field. Ninety-one percent of the males said they recognized change occurring in either the number of women hired for administrative positions or the power those women have relative to the recent past. Only nine percent of the males interviewed by phone reported no change occurring. Female telephone interviewees were slightly less optimistic about change, but more than three-fourths did perceive change. Another 24 percent reported a static situation in their towns regarding women in administration.

When asked to evaluate the impact of the federal government's affirmative action policies on change in the employment or promotion of women, both females and males interviewed were less optimistic. Forty-seven percent of the males reported that affirmative action guidelines mandated by the federal government had achieved a positive impact in their towns as compared with 53 percent who saw no impact. Of the females telephoned, 52 percent perceived a positive impact from affirmative action guidelines at the local level, and 48 percent perceived no impact.

Overwhelmingly, the female and male telephone interviewees who cite the federal government's affirmative action policies as having impact in changing the employment prospects for women in management attribute the strength of affirmative action to the threat of losing federal funding and federal contracts if noncompliance is discovered. A management assistant from Arizona put it directly: "It is definitely not the nagging conscience that, yes, we have to right the wrong and give women the chance. Instead, it is the sledgehammer--if we don't seem to comply, at least on paper, we won't get our federal dollars."

A female assistant to a city manager in Florida cites an effort to rework personnel rules and regulations to include improvement of an evaluation system and a hard look at retirement practices. "I don't think this city would have done that if they had not been asked to by the federal government," she says.

In another part of the nation, a male director of finance in Michigan explains how he sees change operating through an affirmative action plan.

> *I see us handling a lot of things differently today than we did five years ago with the ladies that work for the city, such as being concerned about their rights in terms of their special problems. Affirmative action impacts us because we have to be super careful to make sure we get the federal grants. We are very careful that we have minority people, women in certain places. Personally, that is why I think this girl was hired to be director of community development. She is female and she is black.*

On the other hand, the reasons cited for affirmative action plans and timetables having a weak impact include: a no-growth budget; fairly shallow staff in small towns; the national economic picture; generational attitudes of some females and males toward women working. Among respondents who react negatively to affirmative action plans, some reason that, "You can't legislate equality." A male village manager in Florida explains:

> *Some plans sit on a shelf and collect dust. They are paper documents that are dusted off and paraded before the government at grant time to reap in federal dollars. It is commitment that really counts, and I am committed to seeing more women gain leadership management positions in my town.*

While change is noted, time is considered an important variable in tracking women's progress in public employment. "For the top positions paying top dollars, women have not been in the profession long enough to compete equally with men. In other words, when we advertise for a position such as department head, we don't get any applications from women, and I think it is just a matter of time and not a question of women aren't qualified to do the work. I would fully expect women to compete quite well," explains a male administrative aide from Virginia. It will take more time for many more women to acquire appropriate educational credentials and professional experience for the top jobs in urban management.

Telephone respondents also mention seeing change in a variety of responsible

positions ranging from the elected political sphere to private industry. A female assistant city manager from Alabama noted that three women currently serve on her city council, a record number. Not only do these elected councilwomen hold the seats, but they also exercise considerable leadership and managerial skills. A female finance director from Kentucky notes seeing women become increasingly active in city government to the point of "leading the charge" for reform on several key issues. "And I would consider my city conservative," she adds. Watching women across the country run and win elected office provides additional evidence that women can and do become leaders who are able to exert influence and shape policy directives.

Both female and male administrators observe more and more barriers falling today, especially those which traditionally slotted jobs "for men only" or "for women only." As more women perform untraditional jobs in the private sector, their presence becomes less "odd."

The changes observed in the public sector and in the elected arena are also evident in the private sector. "One of the things I have noticed in the business section of our newspaper is that more and more women are achieving a higher place in banking, insurance, and corporate life. It is not unusual for us to pick up the news and see an announcement that a woman has been promoted to vice president of a bank or vice president of a company. Before, you never saw a female face appear in the promotion section of the business page," describes a female town clerk from Indiana.

Municipal managers also note that increasingly they see women named to important boards and commissions that are quasi-governmental, which helps to build the image of women as governmental leaders.

Finally, one overlooked and positive pathway to change is through the attitudes and efforts of individuals. In an era when big government and multi-national corporations have awed and often overwhelmed the power of the individual in society,

it was a refreshing surprise to hear how change occurred through one person's special effort to make it happen. For example, a female department head in Texas explains, "Change occurs here because our manager believes it is important. He is taking those steps personally to see that it happens and he is making it clear to the assistant managers who work for him that that sort of thing is expected and that everybody is given a chance."

A male city manager in Ohio states, "Yes, change occurs because of me probably more than anything else. I think that it is just going to take time for us men to become aware of the fact that we are passing up a hell of a reserve of people. We don't have to look too far, the talent is there."

Another male city administrator from a small Kansas town feels that his town is so small that it could get by without appointing women and no one would be the wiser. However, change does occur, "mostly due to the mayor and myself. My wife and his wife are the local libbers here. They put pressure on us and, between him and me, we have gotten women appointed to boards and commissions and into administrative jobs," he said.

In other cases, the women administrators themselves initiate action or make a commitment to change. Some of our interviewees have gone on local television, helped put together commissions on the status of women, have written the town's first affirmative action ordinance, testified before personnel committees, protested nose-to-nose when they found discrimination present in the city manager's office, required strict adherence to affirmative action timetables for minorities, hired para-professional women, pushed their secretaries into administrative and professional career paths, supported subordinates who file EEO complaints, and served as role models themselves. A female assistant housing coordinator explains:

> *Just my presence is something new to the male administrators. The fact that, when I open my mouth, I have things planned and organized. Not every woman puts her foot in her mouth. I know what I'm talking about and they take note of it, and I see their attitudes changing.*

In summary, change occurs because of three factors. The first is a general societal trend toward longer life expectancy, higher educational attainment, and the continuing integration of women into the work force. The second factor is the clout of federal legal mandates that, taken together form a national policy of equal employment opportunity. And finally, there are the individual efforts which extend new opportunities to women.

Throughout this study we have interviewed and surveyed women in executive municipal roles. These roles call for rational decision-making and the exercise of power and authority. These female managers must not only do the job but they must also adjust to the effects of their work performance on organizational relationships around them.

A transitional period of evolving values and new professional relationships for women and men has generated its own set of challenges. Women get tired of explaining offensive and discriminatory treatment to men. Yet, it is critical that women understand the confusion and frustration of their male colleagues whose comfortable patterns of behavior are suddenly under attack. For men there is the need to understand the frustration, anger and disillusionment that women feel as they move into a traditionally closed profession. New behavior and new expectations often cause surprise, confusion and some resistance.

We have heard through the voices of female managers that decision-making assertiveness, and accountability make the managerial career path a lonely one. Exercising power calls for behaviors that are not well practiced by some women. Sometimes a woman manager feels "awkward" expressing her views first and asking for others' second, taking action instead of reacting, exercising personal power rather than sharing it.

For men, the entrance of women into city hall increases the potential for relationships involving closeness and they fear that closeness could lead to sexual exchange. Threatened, anxious, or just fearful that the town will talk, male managers and officials and their wives may not welcome the presence of women in municipal management. For a woman, the issue is how to relate to a male colleague whose first evaluation of her may center on her sexuality rather than her capabilities and technical skills. Forming friendships and creating collegiality with both men and other women are perhaps new behaviors that will have to be learned in the process of opening up employment opportunities in management.

New support systems will have to be formed to circumvent some of the barriers documented in this report. Women will have to rely on support from other women because they are excluded from informal male networks. If the numbers of women in management are sparse for a while, women throughout municipal government will have to seek each other out and build their own support systems. Overall, change is happening in municipal management today. Some may find the evidence in this report of women's progress modest and fragile. Nonetheless, it is there. It arises in the growing number of younger women who are as credentialled as heir male colleagues. It shows in female managers' performance on the job. It becomes evident when we talk about future ambitions and where women want to go. Perhaps the most important factor which will influence women's progress, time, will usher in a new importance for women in the labor force, the erosion of cultural biases, and the upward movement of today's young professional women through the managerial ranks. The background, performance and desire is there among female managers of 1979. If their numbers do increase substantially and if their power matches their titles, the role of women in the municipal management picture of the 1990's will surely be different.

NOTES

[1]Patricia Huckle, "Employment of Women in Local Government," Center for Urban Affairs, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA, May 1972.

Patricia Huckle and Owen P. Hall, "Strategies for Changing Employment of Women in Local Government," Center for Urban Studies, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA. Presented 9/8/72, ASPA Women's Caucus, Washington, D. C.

Lorraine A. Underwood, "Women in Federal Employment Programs." An Urban Institute paper on Women and Family Policy, Urban Institute, Washington, D. C., January 1979.

[2]Lee Sigelman, "The Curious Case of Women in State and Local Government," Social Science Quarterly. pp. 591-604, March 1976.

[3]Margaret Hennig and Ann Jardim, The Managerial Woman, (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1977).

[4]Rosabeth Kanter, Men and Women of the Corporation, (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1977).

[5]Marianne Githens and Jewel L. Prestage, A Portrait of Marginality: The Political Behavior of the American Woman (New York, NY: David McKay, 1977).

[6]Rita Mae Kelly and Mary A. Boutilier, The Making of Political Women: A Study of Socialization and Role Conflict, (Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall, 1978).

[7]Irene Diamond, Sex Roles in the State House, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977).

[8]Tables are used in the report to summarize detailed information in a more compact format than can be accomplished through a narrative explanation. The text serves as commentary for the tables, but contains much information not presented in tabular format. The format for tabular presentation has been made as uniform as possible, and every attempt has been made to construct tables understandable to those unfamiliar with quantitative reports. Numbers reported consist exclusively of percentages and total. When totals are so small (under 25) that computations have a high risk of being unreliable, percentages are omitted and replaced with raw numbers in parentheses, as illustrated by the column male clerk/treasurer/registrar in Table 1.5

A typical table utilizes percentages that add to 100 percent down each column of the table, as in Table 1.1. At the bottom of each column the number of respondents constituting the base calculation for the percentage is given in parentheses. Municipal managers or elected women not answering the question pertaining to the calculation, or to whom the question is not applicable, are not included in the percentage base.

In some tables, percentages in each column do not add up to 100 percent because multiple responses to a single question were included in the percentage tabulation. For example, when elected women were asked to name sources they used in identifying and recruiting women for positions in government, up to three sources per respondent were counted.

Other instances where tables do not add up to 100 percent reflect the rounding of percentages to whole numbers. Percentages were calculated to the first decimal point and either rounded up to the next whole number or held constant (e.g. 57.5% = 58%, 57.4% = 57%). In all tables, rounding can affect the total percentage by ± 1.

[9]Hennig and Jardim, op. cit.

[10]Susan Carroll, "Women Candidates and Support for Women's Issues: Closet Feminists," a paper prepared for delivery at the 1979 annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

[11]Marilyn Johnson and Susan Carroll, "Profile of Women Holding Office II," in Women In Public Office: A Biographical Directory and Statistical Analysis, Second Edition, ed. Center for the American Woman and Politics, (Metuchen, N. J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1978).

[12]Marion M. Woods, "What Does It Take for a Woman to Make it in Management," Personnel Journal, January 1974, pp. 38-42.

[13]Benson Rosen and Thomas H. Jerdee, "Sex Stereotyping in the Executive Suite," Harvard Business Review, Vol. 52, No. 2, March/April 1974, pp. 45-58.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Three Survey Questionnaires For:

Female Municipal Managers
Male Municipal Managers
Female Elected Officials

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FEMALE MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR WOMEN CURRENTLY WORKING AS CAREER PUBLIC OFFICIALS

(Please print or type)

1. Name_____

   Occupational Title_____

2. Governmental office address_____

   Street and Number_____

   City_____ County_____ State_____ Zip_____

   Follow-up telephone interviews will be conducted with a sample of respondents. Please indicate an appropriate phone number and time between 8 a.m. and 9 p.m. when it would be convenient to call.

   Telephone: Area Code_____ Number_____ _____a.m. _____p.m.

3. Home address: Street and number_____

   City_____ County_____ State_____ Zip_____

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

4. List schools you attended beyond high school, major field of study, dates of attendance, and undergraduate and advanced degrees earned (if any). Include degree programs presently enrolled in.

Colleges	Dates of Attendance	Major Field of Study	Degree Earned

5. Have you ever participated in an internship program as part of your educational program?

   _____yes _____no.

NON DEGREE COURSES OR WORKSHOPS

6. Apart from work toward a degree, during the past 12 months have you attended professional conferences, workshops, or seminars or taken any job-related course? _____yes _____no.

   If yes, please list the title of each course or program, the sponsoring agency (e.g. ICMA), dates of attendance and where it took place.

Title	Sponsoring Agency	Dates of Attendance	City, State

ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

7. Please list organizations in which you currently hold membership or have held active membership in the last 10 years. Please give the complete name of the organization and indicate your years of affiliation. If you are currently a member write "present" in the space for the second date.

Professional, Occupation, or Labor Union Memberships	Dates
_____	19___ to _____
_____	19___ to _____
_____	19___ to _____
_____	19___ to _____
_____	19___ to _____

Civic, Service, and Religious Organizations	Dates
_____	19___ to _____
_____	19___ to _____
_____	19___ to _____
_____	19___ to _____
_____	19___ to _____

Political, Social Action, and Public Interest Groups	Dates
_____	19___ to _____
_____	19___ to _____
_____	19___ to _____
_____	19___ to _____
_____	19___ to _____

8. Over the past 5 years, how many meetings of professional associations or organizations have you attended?

_____National meetings _____Regional meetings _____State meetings

9. Do you hold or have you ever held an office or chaired a committee in your professional organizations?

_____yes _____no

If yes, please list the office and organization.

Office	Organization
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

10. Is there a women's caucus operating within any of the organizations in which you have held or hold membership? If yes, please list the organizations and indicate whether you were/are a member of the caucus.

Organizations	Women's Caucus Member
_____	_____yes _____no
_____	_____yes _____no

11. Do you currently hold or have you held PUBLIC OFFICES, either elected or appointed? Include boards and commissions except those you serve on as part of your current job responsibilities.

Office	Level (local, county, state, national)	Dates of Service	Elective or Appointive
_____	_____	19___to_____	____E ____A
_____	_____	19___to_____	____E ____A
_____	_____	19___to_____	____E ____A

12. What is your political party affiliation?

____Democrat ____Republican ____Independent _____Other (Specify)

13. Do you hold or have you held elective or appointive positions within your political party? (e.g. county committeewoman, precinct leader)

Position	Level (local, county, state, national)	Years of Service	Elective or Appointive
_____	_____	19___to_____	____E ____A
_____	_____	19___to_____	____E ____A
_____	_____	19___to_____	____E ____A

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

14. What was your first job in public service?

Title_____ Years of Employment 19___to_____

How did you find out about the position? (Check the relevant answer(s))

____Professional publication
____Newspaper/advertisement
____Municipal posting
____Friend/professional associate
____Teacher or professor
____Internship program
____Talent bank
____College placement service
____Professional placement service
____Political party
____Other (Please specify)

15. How did you find out about your current position? (Check the relevant answer(s))

____Professional publication	____Internship program
____Newspaper/advertisement	____College placement service
____Municipal posting	____Professional placement service
____Friend/professional associate	____Political party
____Talent bank	____Promotional opportunity
____Teacher or professor	____Other (Please specify)

16. What is your annual salary in your present position? _____

17. Please list all positions you have held from 1968 through 1978 including official title, employer, city and state of employment, years of employment, and starting salary.

Official Title	Employer	City and State	Years of Employment	Salary

WORK RESPONSIBILITIES (Questions about the community in this section refer to the community in which you work.)

18. To whom do you report directly? (e.g. mayor, council, chief administrative officer)

_____

19. Do you supervise a staff? ____yes ____no

	Number of Female	Number of Male
If yes, Total number of persons_____	_____	_____
Number of full-time employees_____		
Number of part-time employees_____		

20. On the average, estimate the number of hours per week you spend on your job or in required job-related activities: _____hours per week.

21. What form of government is specified in the city charter?

____Mayor-council ____Council-city manager

____Other (Please specify):_____

22. Has your municipality adopted a professional management plan? ____yes ____no

Date adopted 19____

23. Does your municipality have an affirmative action plan? ____yes ____no

Date adopted 19____

24. In your community, which office (e.g. mayor, council, chief administrator) has primary responsibility for the following:

_____ Personnel (hiring and firing)

_____ Budget

_____ Planning

_____ General Administration

25. Municipalities vary in the extent to which political parties are involved in the governmental process. In your municipality, how important are parties to:

	Very Important	Moderately Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
Governmental policy-making	_____	_____	_____	_____
Personnel decisions	_____	_____	_____	_____
Career advancement	_____	_____	_____	_____

26. Do you hold or have you held membership on a committee, board, or commission as part of your job responsibilities? _____yes _____no
If yes, please list.

_____

_____

_____

27. Do you head or staff a committee, board, or commission? _____yes _____no
If yes, please list.

_____

_____

_____

28. Is the population of your community

_____Growing rapidly _____Increasing slowly _____Remaining steady

_____Declining slowly _____Declining rapidly

29. Overall, how would you characterize the climate of the community in which you work?

_____Liberal _____Moderate _____Conservative

30. Who are the people you consider the most powerful or influential within your municipal government? List by title (e.g. mayor, councilperson, department head, clerk, party official, police chief, attorney)

1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____ 4. _____

31. Do you make recommendations to the municipal governing body? _____yes _____no
If yes, are your recommendations followed?

_____Nearly always _____Most of the time

_____About half the time _____Less than half the time

32. In the event that you and the municipal governing body initially disagree on a policy or action, does the governing body eventually come to agree with you?

_____Nearly always _____Most of the time _____About half the time

_____Less than half the time _____We don't disagree

33. In your municipality, how many department heads are there? _____

How many of the department heads are women? _____

PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY CONTACTS

34. In meetings of organizations to which you belong, how often do you come into contact with other elected or appointed officials?

_____Very often _____Occasionally _____Rarely _____Not at all

35. How often do you associate with other women in government (including elected and appointed officials) in the following circumstances:

Business Meetings or Conferences	Informal or Social Contacts	Formal Organized Women's Groups or Caucus
_____Very often	_____Very often	_____Very often
_____Occasionally	_____Occasionally	_____Occasionally
_____Rarely	_____Rarely	_____Rarely
_____Not at all	_____Not at all	_____Not at all

36. (a) In your job-related associations, is your time spent:

_____Mostly with women

_____Mostly with men

_____With a fairly balanced mix of women and men

(b) In your job-related friendships, is your time spent:

_____Mostly with women

_____Mostly with men

_____With a fairly balanced mix of women and men

PERSONAL AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

37. Has anyone in your family either held political office or worked in a civil service, or governmental administration job? (e.g. spouse, parents, siblings)

Person's Relationship To You	Political Office	Elected/Appointed		Civil Service (give title)	Government Administration (give title)
_____	_____	_____E	_____A	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____E	_____A	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____E	_____A	_____	_____

38. What is your age? _____years

39. What is your current marital status?

____Married ____Divorced or separated ____Widowed ____Single, never married

40. How many children have you had? (Include all your children, living or not, and all adopted children.)

_____children (If no children, write "none.")

If you have children, how old is the youngest child? _____

41. Which one of the following words would best identify you:

____White ____Black ____American Indian ____Hispanic ____Asian American

____Other (Please specify)_____

42. How long have you resided in the community where you now live? ____years

In the state? ____years

FUTURE CAREER GOALS

43. If you had the necessary support and the right opportunities, would there be elective or other appointive offices or positions at the local, county, state, or national levels that you would eventually like to hold? ____yes ____no

If yes, please list offices in rank order in which you would be interested.

1. _____ 4. _____

2. _____ 5. _____

3. _____ 6. _____

44. What job would you like to hold next in the future?

_____

45. Would you relocate geographically if a more rewarding job opportunity arose?

____Definitely ____Probably ____Probably not ____Definitely not ____Don't know

THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT

46. Do you consider getting other women appointed or employed:

____Very important ____Moderately important ____Somewhat important ____Not important

47. How would you describe the receptivity to professional women in government in your municipality?

____Very high ____High ____Moderate ____Low ____Very low

48. Please use this scale for the following question:

1. Regularly
2. Occasionally
3. Infrequently
4. Not at all
5. Not applicable

Have you:

____recommended women for employment in departments within municipal government

____recommended women for consideration as appointees to municipal boards and commissions

____hired women for government employment

____appointed women to boards and commissions

49. There are relatively few women in MUNICIPAL management positions nationwide. Using your own observations and experiences, decide which number comes closest to your own feelings about the barriers women face regarding: (A) recruiting/hiring, (B) promotion, and (C) effectiveness.

1 = very important 2 = somewhat important 3 = not very important

(A) Recruiting/ Hiring	(B) Promotion	(C) Effective-ness	
___	___	___	Exclusion from influential informal male networks (e.g. business associations, clubs, etc.)
___	___	___	Lack of training and/or educational qualifications
___	___	___	Insufficient numbers of women in the management labor pool
___	___	___	Family responsibilities
___	___	___	Inability to travel and relocate
___	___	___	Discrimination by employers
___	___	___	Discrimination by party officials
___	___	___	Prejudice of public and governmental employees
___	___	___	Stereotypes about women's roles in society
___	___	___	Difficulty in being taken seriously
___	___	___	Individual personality traits (e.g. too aggressive, not aggressive enough)

50. The federal government is interested in assisting in the development of programs to increase the numbers of women and minorities in public service. If you were a consultant to the Department of Housing and Urban Development, what suggestions would you make to meet this goal? (Feel free to attach additional pages if necessary.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

PLEASE ENCLOSE IT IN THE POSTAGE PAID ENVELOPE PROVIDED AND MAIL IT PROMPTLY.

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MALE MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

213 No. ____

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CAREER PUBLIC OFFICIALS

(Please print or type)

1. Name_____

   Occupational Title_____

2. Governmental office address_____

   Street and number_____

   City_____ County_____ State_____ Zip_____

   Follow-up telephone interviews will be conducted with a sample of respondents. Please indicate an appropriate phone number and time between 8 a.m. and 9 p.m. when it would be convenient to call.

   Telephone: Area Code_____ Number_____ _____a.m. _____p.m.

3. Home address: Street and number_____

   City_____ County_____ State_____ Zip_____

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

4. List schools you attended beyond high school, major field of study, dates of attendance, and undergraduate and advanced degrees earned (if any). Include degree programs presently enrolled in.

Colleges	Dates of Attendance	Major Field of Study	Degree Earned

5. Have you ever participated in an internship program as part of your educational program?

   _____yes _____no.

ON DEGREE COURSES OR WORKSHOPS

6. Apart from work toward a degree, during the past 12 months have you attended professional conferences, workshops, or seminars or taken any job-related course? _____yes _____no.

   If yes, please list the title of each course or program, the sponsoring agency (e.g. ICMA), dates of attendance and where it took place.

Title	Sponsoring Agency	Dates of Attendance	City, State

ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

7. Please list organizations in which you currently hold membership or have held active membership in the last 10 years. Please give the complete name of the organization and indicate your years of affiliation. If you are currently a member write "present" in the space for the second date.

Professional, Occupation, or Labor Union Memberships	Dates
_____	19___ to_____
_____	19___ to_____
_____	19___ to_____
_____	19___ to_____
_____	19___ to_____

Civic, Service, and Religious Organizations	Dates
_____	19___ to_____
_____	19___ to_____
_____	19___ to_____
_____	19___ to_____
_____	19___ to_____

Political, Social Action, and Public Interest Groups	Dates
_____	19___ to_____
_____	19___ to_____
_____	19___ to_____
_____	19___ to_____
_____	19___ to_____

8. In meetings of organizations to which you belong, how often do you come into contact with other elected or appointed officials?

_____Very often _____Occasionally _____Rarely _____Not at all

9. Over the past 5 years, how many meetings of professional associations or organizations have you attended ?

_____National meetings _____Regional meetings _____State meetings

10. Do you hold or have you ever held an office or chaired a committee in your professional organizations?

_____yes _____no

If yes, please list the office and organization.

Office	Organization
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

11. Do you currently hold or have you held PUBLIC OFFICES, either elected or appointed? Include boards and commissions except those you serve on as part of your current job responsibilities.

Office	Level (local, county, state, national)	Dates of Service	Elective or Appointive
_____	_____	19___ to _____	____E ____A
_____	_____	19___ to _____	____E ____A
_____	_____	19___ to _____	____E ____A

12. What is your political party affiliation?

____Democrat ____Republican ____Independent _____Other (Specify)

13. Do you hold or have you held elective or appointive positions within your political party? (e.g. county committeeman, precinct leader)

Position	Level (local, county, state, national)	Years of Service	Elective or Appointive
_____	_____	19___ to _____	____E ____A
_____	_____	19___ to _____	____E ____A
_____	_____	19___ to _____	____E ____A

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

14. What was your first job in public service?

Title_____ Years of Employment 19___ to_____

How did you find out about the position? (Check the relevant answer(s))

____Professional publication
____Newspaper/advertisement
____Municipal posting
____Friend/professional associate
____Teacher or professor
____Internship program
____Talent bank
____College placement service
____Professional placement service
____Political party
____Other (Please specify)

15. How did you find out about your current position? (Check the relevant answer(s))

____Professional publication
____Newspaper/advertisement
____Municipal posting
____Friend/professional associate
____Talent bank
____Teacher or professor
____Internship Program
____College placement service
____Professional placement service
____Political party
____Promotional opportunity
____Other (Please specify)

16. What is your annual salary in your present position? _____

17. Please list all positions you have held from 1968 through 1978 including official title, employer, city and state of employment, years of employment, and starting salary.

Official Title	Employer	City and State	Years of Employment	Salary

WORK RESPONSIBILITIES (Questions about the community in this section refer to the community in which you work.)

18. To whom do you report directly? (e.g. mayor, council, chief administrative officer)

_____

19. Do you supervise a staff? _____yes _____no

	Number of Female	Number of Male
If yes, Total number of persons_____	_____	_____
Number of full-time employees_____		
Number of part-time employees_____		

20. On the average, estimate the number of hours per week you spend on your job or in required job-related activities: _____hours per week.

21. What form of government is specified in the city charter?

_____Mayor-council _____Council-city manager

_____Other (Please specify):_____

22. Has your municipality adopted a professional management plan? _____yes _____no

Date adopted 19____

23. Does your municipality have an affirmative action plan? _____yes _____no

Date adopted 19____

24. In your community, which office (e.g. mayor, council, chief administrator) has primary responsibility for the following:

_____Personnel (hiring and firing)

_____Budget

_____Planning

_____General Administration

25. Municipalities vary in the extent to which political parties are involved in the governmental process. In your municipality, how important are parties to:

	Very Important	Moderately Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
Governmental policy-making	_____	_____	_____	_____
Personnel decisions	_____	_____	_____	_____
Career advancement	_____	_____	_____	_____

26. Do you hold or have you held membership on a committee, board, or commission as part of your job responsibilities? _____yes _____no
If yes, please list.

_____

_____

_____

27. Do you head or staff a committee, board, or commission? _____yes _____no
If yes, please list.

_____

_____

_____

28. Is the population of your community

_____Growing rapidly _____Increasing slowly _____Remaining steady

_____Declining slowly _____Declining rapidly

29. Overall, how would you characterize the climate of the community in which you work?

_____Liberal _____Moderate _____Conservative

30. Who are the people you consider the most powerful or influential within your municipal government? List by title (e.g. mayor, councilperson, department head, clerk, party official, police chief, attorney)

1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____ 4. _____

31. Do you make recommendations to the municipal governing body? _____yes _____no
If yes, are your recommendations followed?

_____Nearly always _____Most of the time

_____About half the time _____Less than half the time

32. In the event that you and the municipal governing body initially disagree on a policy or action, does the governing body eventually come to agree with you?

_____Nearly always _____Most of the time _____About half the time

_____Less than half the time _____We don't disagree

33. In your municipality, how many department heads are there? _____

How many of the department heads are men? _____ women? _____

PERSONAL AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

34. Has anyone in your family either held political office or worked in a civil service, or governmental administration job? (e.g. spouse, parents, siblings)

Person's Relationship To You	Political Office	Elected/Appointed		Civil Service (give title)	Government Administration (give title)
_____	_____	_____E	_____A	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____E	_____A	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____E	_____A	_____	_____

35. What is your age? _____years

36. What is your current marital status?

_____Married _____Divorced or separated _____Widowed _____Single, never married

37. How many children have you had? (Include all your children, living or not, and all adopted children.)

_____Children (If no children, write "none.")

If you have children, how old is the youngest child? _____

38. Which one of the following words would best identify you:

___White ___Black ___American Indian ___Hispanic ___Asian American

___Other (Please specify)_____

39. How long have you resided in the community where you now live? _____years

In the state? _____years

FUTURE CAREER GOALS

40. If you had the necessary support and the right opportunities, would there be elective or other appointive offices or positions at the local, county, state, or national levels that you would eventually like to hold? _____yes _____no

If yes, please list offices in rank order in which you would be interested.

1. _____ 4. _____
2. _____ 5. _____
3. _____ 6. _____

41. What job would you like to hold next in the future?

_____

42. Would you relocate geographically if a more rewarding job opportunity arose?

_____Definitely _____Probably _____Probably not _____Definitely not _____Don't know

THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT

43. Do you consider getting women appointed or employed:

___Very important ___Moderately important ___Somewhat important ___Not important

44. How would you describe the receptivity to professional women in government in your municipality?

____Very high ____High ____Moderate ____Low ____Very low

45. Please use this scale for the following question:

1. Regularly
2. Occasionally
3. Infrequently
4. Not at all
5. Not applicable

Have you:

____recommended women for employment in departments within municipal government

____recommended women for consideration as appointees to municipal boards and commissions

____hired women for government employment

____appointed women to boards and commissions

46. There are relatively few women in MUNICIPAL management positions nationwide. Using your own observations and experiences, decide which number comes closest to your own feelings about the barriers women face regarding: (A) recruiting/hiring, (B) promotion, and (C) effectiveness.

1 = very important 2 = somewhat important 3 = not very important

(A) Recruiting/ Hiring	(B) Promotion	(C) Effectiveness	
____	____	____	Exclusion from influential informal male networks (e.g. business associations, clubs, etc.)
____	____	____	Lack of training and/or educational qualifications
____	____	____	Insufficient numbers of women in the management labor pool
____	____	____	Family responsibilities
____	____	____	Inability to travel and relocate
____	____	____	Discrimination by employers
____	____	____	Discrimination by party officials
____	____	____	Prejudice of public and governmental employees
____	____	____	Stereotypes about women's roles in society
____	____	____	Difficulty in being taken seriously
____	____	____	Individual personality traits (e.g. too aggressive, not aggressive enough)

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

PLEASE ENCLOSE IT IN THE POSTAGE PAID ENVELOPE PROVIDED AND MAIL IT PROMPTLY.

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FEMALE ELECTED OFFICIALS

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ELECTED WOMEN OFFICIALS

(Please print or type)

1. Name _____

   Governmental Office (e.g. councilperson, mayor) _____

2. Governmental office address _____

   Street and number _____

   City _____ County _____ State _____ Zip _____

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE AND BACKGROUND

3. What is your political party affiliation? (If you are independent skip to Question 6.)

   _____Democrat _____Republican _____Independent _____Other (Specify)

4. Do you hold or have you held elective or appointive positions within your political party? (e.g. county committeewoman, precinct leader, convention delegate)

   _____yes _____no If yes:

Position	Level (local, county, state, national)	Years of Service	Elective or Appointive
_____	_____	19__ to ____	_____E _____A
_____	_____	19__ to ____	_____E _____A
_____	_____	19__ to ____	_____E _____A

5. How active are you in your local party organization?

   _____Very active _____Somewhat active _____Occasionally active _____Rarely active

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS

(Questions in this section refer to the community in which you serve in office.)

6. In your community, which office (e.g. mayor, council, chief administrator) has primary responsibility for the following:

   _____Personnel (hiring and firing)

   _____Budget

   _____Planning

   _____General Administration

7. Are elections to city council office in your community:

   _____Partisan (party label appears on the ballot with the candidate's name)

   _____Non-partisan (no party labels appear on the ballot)

8. Apart from whether elections are partisan or non-partisan, municipalities vary in the extent to which political parties are involved in the governmental process. In your municipality, how important are parties to:

	Very Important	Moderately Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
Governmental policy-making	_____	_____	_____	_____
Personnel decisions	_____	_____	_____	_____
Career advancement	_____	_____	_____	_____

9. Overall, how would you characterize the climate of the community in which you serve in office?

_____Very liberal _____Liberal _____Moderate _____Conservative _____Very Conservative

10. Who are the people you consider the most powerful or influential within your municipal government? List by name and title (e.g. mayor, councilperson, department head, clerk, party official, police chief, attorney)

1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____ 4. _____

PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY CONTACTS

11. How often do you associate with APPOINTED FEMALE career public officials (e.g. city managers, assistant managers, department heads) in government in the following circumstances:

Business Meetings or Conferences	Informal or Social Contacts	Formally Organized Groups
_____Very often	_____Very often	_____Very often
_____Occasionally	_____Occasionally	_____Occasionally
_____Rarely	_____Rarely	_____Rarely
_____Not at all	_____Not at all	_____Not at all

12. How often do you associate with APPOINTED MALE career public officials in government in the following circumstances:

Business Meetings or Conferences	Informal or Social Contacts	Formally Organized Groups
_____Very often	_____Very often	_____Very often
_____Occasionally	_____Occasionally	_____Occasionally
_____Rarely	_____Rarely	_____Rarely
_____Not at all	_____Not at all	_____Not at all

13. How often do you associate with other ELECTED FEMALE officials in government in the following circumstances:

Business Meetings or Conferences	Informal or Social Contacts	Formally Organized Groups
_____Very often	_____Very often	_____Very often
_____Occasionally	_____Occasionally	_____Occasionally
_____Rarely	_____Rarely	_____Rarely
_____Not at all	_____Not at all	_____Not at all

14. How often do you associate with ELECTED MALE officials in government in the following circumstances:

Business Meetings or Conferences	Informal or Social Contacts	Formally Organized Groups
_____Very often	_____Very often	_____Very often
_____Occasionally	_____Occasionally	_____Occasionally
_____Rarely	_____Rarely	_____Rarely
_____Not at all	_____Not at all	_____Not at all

15. Name the women in government with whom you associate most frequently:
- by title (e.g. city manager, mayor, finance director, city attorney)
- under what circumstances (e.g. formal, informal, social)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

16. In your experience, are there any special barriers that hinder communication or association between career public administrators and elected officials? _____yes _____no
If yes: Please describe.

_____

_____

_____

THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN PUBLIC SERVICE

17. Overall, how do you feel about the women's rights movement and its major goals?

_____Very positive _____Somewhat positive _____Neutral
_____Somewhat negative _____Very negative

18. Do you consider getting women appointed or employed in public service positions:

_____High priority _____Moderate priority _____Low priority _____Not important

19. How would you describe the receptivity to woman career public administrators (e.g. city managers, assistant managers, department heads) in your community?

_____Very high _____High _____Moderate _____Low _____Very low

20. Have you been involved in any activity regarding the appointment of women to boards and commissions in your community?

_____yes _____no _____not applicable (e.g. not part of my job)

IF YES, PLEASE GO ON TO NEXT QUESTION. OTHERWISE, SKIP TO QUESTION 23.

21. What means did you employ in seeking to have the woman/women appointed to a board or commission? (Check all that apply.)

_____Talked to an elected colleague of mine about the appointment
_____Wrote a letter of recommendation
_____Spoke to a public official on her behalf
_____Other (please specify) _____

22. a) Were your activities successful in getting a woman appointed to a board or commission? _____yes _____no

b) If your activities resulted in getting more than one woman appointed, please indicate the number of times you were successful in getting a woman appointed _____ and the number of times you were unsuccessful _____.

23. Have you been involved in any activity aimed at employing women in government in your community?

_____yes _____no _____not applicable (e.g. not part of my job, no hiring since I've been in office.)

IF YES, PLEASE GO ON TO NEXT QUESTION. OTHERWISE, SKIP TO QUESTION 26.

24. Please check which of the following sources you have used in identifying and recruiting women for positions in government.

_____Women's groups and organizations
_____Political parties
_____Political clubs
_____Talent bank
_____Other organizations
_____Educational institutions
_____Personal contacts and friends

Other (please specify) _____

25. Were your recruitment efforts successful? _____yes _____no

If yes, which means of recruitment have you found to be the most effective in placing women in positions in municipal government?

_____

_____

If no, what do you think the barriers are to placing more women in municipal management positions?

_____

_____

26. Some people are saying that women in government have been organizing, formally or informally, into a "new girls network." Please describe whether and in what ways this "network" exists in your community. (e.g. among elected women, among managerial women, among elected and appointed career public officials)

_____

_____

_____

27. If no "new girls network" exists in your community, what do you think are the reasons?

_____

_____

_____

28. To what extent, if any, have you personally had experience with the entrance of women in municipal management positions?

Have you:

Recommended women for employment in departments within municipal government	____yes	____no	____not applicable
Hired women for government employment	____yes	____no	____not applicable
Appointed women to boards and commissions	____yes	____no	____not applicable
Had the opportunity to create job opportunities within municipal government with women in mind (e.g. flexi-time, part-time, job sharing)	____yes	____no	____not applicable
Initiated discussions about in-service training opportunities for municipally employed women	____yes	____no	____not applicable
Kept an informal or formal list of qualified women for referral when municipal job openings occur	____yes	____no	____not applicable

29. Do you feel the presence of <u>appointed</u> women career public officials could help you formally or informally to be a more effective officeholder in your community?

____yes ____no

<u>If yes</u>: Please describe in what ways.

_____

_____

_____

<u>If no</u>: Please describe why not.

_____

_____

_____

30. Do you feel that it is appropriate for women to enter careers in city management or administration? ____yes ____no

<u>If yes</u>: Please describe why.

_____

_____

_____

<u>If no</u>: What are the reasons why it is not appropriate for women to be in city management positions?

_____

_____

_____

31. There are relatively few women in MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT positions (e.g. city manager, city administrator) nationwide. Using your own observations and experiences, decide which number best describes the barriers women encounter in (A) recruiting/hiring, (B) promotion, and (C) effectiveness.

Please use this scale:

1 = very important 2 = somewhat important 3 = not very important

(A) Recruiting/ Hiring	(B) Promotion	(C) Effectiveness	
_____	_____	_____	Exclusion from influential informal male networks (e.g. business associations, clubs, etc.)
_____	_____	_____	Lack of training and/or educational qualifications
_____	_____	_____	Insufficient numbers of women in the management labor pool
_____	_____	_____	Family responsibilities
_____	_____	_____	Inability to travel and relocate
_____	_____	_____	Discrimination by employers
_____	_____	_____	Discrimination by party officials
_____	_____	_____	Prejudice of public and governmental employees
_____	_____	_____	Stereotypes about women's roles in society
_____	_____	_____	Difficulty in being taken seriously
_____	_____	_____	Individual personality traits (e.g. too aggressive, not aggressive enough)

32. The federal government is interested in assisting in the development of programs to increase the numbers of women and minorities in appointive, managerial and administrative positions. What suggestions would you make about programs and other governmental efforts which would best meet this goal? (Feel free to attach additional pages if necessary.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

PERSONAL AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

33. What is your age? _____years

34. What is your current marital status?

___Married ___Divorced or separated ___Widowed ___Single, never married

35. How many children have you had? (Include all your children, living or not, and all adopted children.)

_____children (If no children, write "none.")

If you have children, how old is the youngest child? _____

36. Which one of the following words would best identify you:

___White ___Black ___American Indian ___Hispanic ___Asian American

___Other (please specify) _____

37. How long have you resided in the community where you now live? _____years

EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATION

38. In addition to holding office, are you now employed? _____yes _____no

a. If yes: Are you employed _____full-time or _____part-time?

What is your occupation? (please specify job title and type of business or industry)

_____

b. If no: In what year were you last employed? 19___

What was your occupation in the year you were last employed? (please specify job title of business or industry)

_____

THANK YOU FOR [illegible]PLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

PLEASE ENCLOSE IT IN THE POSTAGE [illegible]AID ENVELOPE PROVIDED AND MAIL IT PROMPTLY.

APPENDIX B

Telephone Interview Schedule for Female and Male Municipal Managers

FOLLOW-UP TELEPHONE INTERVIEW FOR FEMALE AND MALE MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

* indicates that question was asked only of Female Municipal Managers

Let's begin by getting a picture of the political scene in your community. Some people describe their community as a place where politics dominate professional decision making. Others say daily administration goes on in a horse trading atmosphere, and still others say the professional is the relied upon expert when it comes to decision making.

1. How would you describe the political situation in your community to someone unfamiliar with your town? What are some of the groups or organizations that are important in town politics? Would you say that "playing politics" is necessary/unnecessary to getting the job done? What would playing politics mean to you?

Our survey questionnaire has tapped the nature of the types of jobs people in municipal management hold. Turning to your own job of _____ now, I would like to talk a bit about what it is like to be a _____.

(Adjust question depending on tenure in job.)

2. Thinking back to when you first started your present job, what did you think the job would be like? What were some of your first impressions? Has the job differed from your expectations?

Since part of HUD's mandate is to get more women interested in seeking out municipal management positions, I would like to ask you a few questions about the best way to enter the city management field.

3. Based on your own experience, if a woman interested in a career in city management came to you for advice, what would you tell her? What skills do you need to move into top management? What do you think an ideal career path would look like?

   What educational training do you think is the most beneficial/helpful in getting a city management job? What major/minor would you recommend?

   In addition to being qualified and having the educational background, what else do you need to be an effective city manager? Is there anything special that a woman has to do to be an effective city manager?

We are interested in comparing female and male career patterns to see if there are any differences in backgrounds, styles of management, or career mobility patterns. Right now, I would like to ask you a series of questions to help us clarify some of the findings in our study.

4. In what ways, if any, do you think women and men perform differently in municipal management positions? For example, do women seem to be less competitive or more ambitious than men? Do you think women tend to get along better with people or not? Do women or men tend to be better at some jobs than others?

(If present job was promotional opportunity, check to see if previous job involved interview, otherwise skip question.)

* 5. Thinking back to the time when you were hired for your present job, was there anything in the interview that made you feel uncomfortable? Were you asked questions during the interviewing process that you found offensive? If yes, could you give an example? Do you know of anyone who went through a similar situation during the hiring stage? By the way, were you recruited through a consultant or outside recruitment firm? If yes, what kind of a role do you think they played in the hiring process?

(This question adapted for males.)

6. Do you think establishing yourself in this position in city government was any different for you because you are a woman? Why do you say that? Some women in municipal administration have mentioned the problem of being taken seriously when they first started in their jobs. Is that a situation you have had to face? If yes, how did you deal with it? How do you achieve influence within municipal government? What about looking at the other side of this question for a moment. Any special advantages to being a woman in municipal management? Why do you say that? That's interesting, could you explain that point further? Give me an example.

We have been getting some interesting comments on the barriers women face regarding recruitment, hiring, promotion and effectiveness in municipal management positions. Some respondents have said that when a woman speaks, she is ignored, but if a man speaks, he is listened to. Other respondents have complained about being circumvented by not being invited to key meetings, or not having phone calls returned. And, still others say sexual problems within the work environment crop up and must be dealt with. I'd like to turn to a series of questions now that will help us clarify some of our findings in this area.

7. Some women in municipal administration feel that decisions are made around them because they are not part of the "old boys" network. Why do you think this is so? Does this happen in your municipality? Have you ever had an experience like that? Do you know of a colleague who has had an incident involving this problem?

* 8. Another comment that crops up on the questionnaire is the need to talk informally with another woman in city management. Questions like what to wear, what to call your boss, whether to criticize a superior or not....are hard to deal with when you are the only woman in management. Are there more experienced women you can turn to in these types of situations? Have you ever felt you wanted to turn to another woman "who has been there" to ask her advice? When? Under what circumstances? Do other women turn to you for help or advice? When? Under what circumstances?

9. When women and men work in close proximity, issues arise of sexual attraction, or advances, or what meaning will be given to having lunch or dinner with a female/male colleague. Do you feel that this is a problem in your work situation? Have you ever had an experience like this? Do you know of anyone who has had to deal with an incident involving these problems?

One of the major tasks that HUD has asked us to accomplish is to come up with suggestions for programs that can assist women and minorities in being hired and promoted within the municipal management field. I would like to get a sense of any changes you see happening today and then talk about what types of workshops or skill-building sessions could help you right now.

10. In your own community, do you see a change taking place? By that I mean either in the numbers of women that you see getting administrative jobs or in the amount of influence or power that they wield compared to the past? Has the federal government's affirmative action policies had any impact in your town? For example, either in the hiring practices, changing the climate surrounding promotional opportunities, changing attitudes, raising consciousness.....

* 11. Do you think professional organizations such as ICMA or ASPA are doing enough to meet the needs of women in the field? If no, what would you like to see a professional organization do to better meet your needs?

(This question must be adapted if first job is present job.)

12. Thinking back now to what it was like when you started in your first position in municipal management, what kinds of workshops or seminars would you have found helpful then? What types of resources or technical assistance programs do you think would be most helpful to you today? What about in the future?

What are the most valuable benefit/benefits from attending these kinds of sessions? For example, some respondents feel it is worth it just to be able to meet their peers in other cities, others cite skill building or the opportunity to get information explained to them in detail.

* 13. Some people are saying that women in government have been organizing, formally or informally, into a "new girls network." I see on your questionnaire that you say you associate _____ very often, _____ occasionally, _____ rarely with women in government.

Could you describe whether and in what ways, if any, a network exists in your community/region/state, for example, among managerial women, among elected and appointed career public officials, among elected women? How do you think networking could/could not help you in meeting your career goals? What do you think networks accomplish?

Now we would like to get a picture of what career plans and patterns of mobility people in city management have mapped out for themselves.

14. How many municipal or county nonelective jobs have you had? In how many different cities have you held these jobs? In how many cities have you held the same job? If they name more than one city--Have you always moved from a smaller to a larger city in your career route to your present position?

15. I see that you mention being interested in elective political office in the future. What makes political office an attractive/unattractive alternative for you?

16. Where do you see yourself going from here? What would you say are some of the more likely possibilities for you in the future? What are some of the possibilities that appeal to you least? What factors would make you choose either? How do you add up the pros and cons now? I see that you mention that you would/would not relocate if a more rewarding job opportunity arose in the future. Why is that? Does having/not having a family affect your decision?

APPENDIX C

Tables not included in text.

Part II: NUMBERS AND LOCATION OF FEMALE MUNICIPAL MANAGERS: COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS OF WHERE THEY WORK

TABLE 2A: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' COMMUNITIES' POPULATION GROWTH

Community Population Growth	Municipal Managers F %	M %
Growing Rapidly	39	35
Increasing Slowly	32	39
Remaining Steady	22	18
Declining Slowly	6	7
Declining Rapidly	(1)	(0)
Total	(363)	(217)

TABLE 2B: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS CHARACTERIZE COMMUNITY CLIMATE

Community Character	Municipal Managers F %	M %
Liberal	6	6
Moderate	48	42
Conservative	46	53
Total	(365)	(215)

TABLE 2C: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' COMMUNITIES' FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Form of Government	Municipal Managers F %	M %
Mayor/Council	34	30
Council/Manager	59	69
Commission	(4)	(0)
Town Meeting	3	2
Representative Town Meeting	(6)	(1)
County Administrator	(3)	(1)
County Executive	(0)	(0)
County Commission	(0)	(0)
Total	(370)	(215)

TABLE 2D: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PLAN

Does your municipality have an affirmative action plan?	Municipal Managers F %	M %
Yes	67	73
No	33	27
Total	(347)	(212)

TABLE 2E: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' PROFESSIONAL MANAGEMENT PLAN

Has your community adopted a professional management plan?	Municipal Managers F %	M %
Yes	26	43
No	74	57
Total	(318)	(194)

PART III: EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

TABLE 3A: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY

Major Field of Study	Municipal Managers	
	F	M
	%	%
Public Administration	31	43
Business Administration & Related Technical Areas	31	26
Social Science	10	11
Planning	5	3
Urban Studies	2	4
Engineering	(1)	5
Humanities	5	(2)
Math, Bio & Physical Science	2	2
Other Liberal Arts	4	(1)
Law	2	(1)
Medicine/Health	2	(2)
Other Professional/Applied	6	3
Total	(254)	(207)

TABLE 3B: WORKSHOPS ATTENDED BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Workshops Attended	Municipal Managers	
	F	M
	%	%
Budget/Finance	39	26
Management/Administration	29	35
Single Topic/Informational	18	28
Personnel/Labor Relations	6	8
A.A./E.E.O.C.	2	2
Intergovernmental Relations	(4)	(3)
Other	4	(1)
Total	(536)	(281)

PART IV: RECRUITMENT AND CAREER PATH FUTURE AMBITIONS

TABLE 4A: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' MEANS OF FINDING 1st PUBLIC SERVICE JOB AND PRESENT JOB

Means of Finding Job	Job			
	1st Public Service		Present	
	F	M	F	M
	%	%	%	%
Friend/Professional Assoc.	49	30	26	22
Newspaper Ad	14	17	6	14
Internship	8	15	3	(1)
Teacher/Professor	5	8	(2)	(2)
Political Party	5	(4)	4	(1)
Municipal Posting	4	5	3	5
College Placement Service	3	5	(0)	(0)
Professional Placement Service	2	(4)	(2)	(1)
Professional Publication	(1)	4	4	23
Promotion	(4)	(1)	47	32
Talent Bank	(0)	(3)	(3)	(0)
Other	8	10	5	(4)
Total	(358)	(213)	(291)	(185)

TABLE 4B: FAMILY MEMBERS IN PUBLIC SERVICE BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' 1st PUBLIC SERVICE JOB CATEGORIES

Family Members in Public Service	1st Public Service Job Categories									
	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg.		Assistant		Department Head	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	(2)	(1)	28	21	32	(4)	26	36	27	25
No	(2)	(5)	72	79	68	(7)	74	64	73	75
Total	(4)	(6)	(25)	(19)	(135)	(11)	(19)	(33)	(140)	(118)

TABLE 4C: FAMILY MEMBERS IN PUBLIC SERVICE BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' PRESENT JOB CATEGORIES

Family Members in Public Service	Present Job Category									
	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg.		Assistant		Department Head	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Yes	43	27	25	24	37	(2)	30	28	24	35
No	57	73	75	76	63	(9)	70	72	77	65
Total	(30)	(59)	(96)	(37)	(60)	(11)	(135)	(93)	(17)	(51)

TABLE 4D: PUBLIC OFFICES HELD BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS*

Public Offices Held	Municipal Managers	
	F %	M %
Municipal Management	49	59
Boards or Commissions	66	49
Local/Nonadministrative	17	14
State Elective	(1)	(1)
State Administrative	(0)	(1)
Total	(59)	(51)

*Up to 3 answers were counted from each respondent. Percentages are calculated by dividing the number of times each type of public office was cited by the total number of municipal managers who answered this question.

TABLE 4E: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' AVERAGE JOB TENURE*

Average Job Tenure	Municipal Managers F %	Municipal Managers M %
Less than One	8	4
1.0 - 1.9	27	27
2.0 - 2.9	19	32
3.0 - 4.9	20	16
5.0 - 9.9	19	15
10.0 - 14.9	3	(2)
15.0 - 19.9	3	3
20.0 & Over	(2)	(2)
Total	(270)	(169)

*Average job tenure is calculated from up to 3 of each respondent's most recent former jobs.

TABLE 4F: 1st PUBLIC SERVICE JOB BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' PRESENT JOB CATEGORIES

1st Public Service Job	Present Job Category: CAO/CM F %	CAO/CM M %	Finance Officer F %	Finance Officer M %	Clk/Trs/Reg. F %	Clk/Trs/Reg. M %	Assistant F %	Assistant M %	Department Head F %	Department Head M %
CAO/CM	13	5	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	3	(0)	(0)
Finance Officer	(0)	5	19	32	10	(3)	(0)	1	2	(0)
Clk/Trs/Reg.	47	5	35	8	68	(2)	28	2	16	6
Assistant	17	54	29	32	15	(1)	57	70	43	47
Department Head	10	19	3	14	3	(4)	2	11	16	18
Other Professional	7	10	4	3	(0)	(0)	10	8	24	24
Other	7	2	9	11	3	(1)	4	5	(0)	6
Total	(30)	(59)	(96)	(37)	(60)	(11)	(136)	(93)	(51)	(17)

TABLE 4G: NEXT JOB WANTED BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Next Job Wanted	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg.		Assistant		Department Head	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
CAO/CM	15	16	9	14	7	(4)	15	46	15	19
Finance Officer	(0)	(1)	9	10	3	(0)	(2)	(2)	(0)	(0)
Clk/Trs/Reg.	(0)	(0)	3	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Assistant	(0)	(0)	(1)	3	(0)	(0)	30	20	15	19
Department Head	5	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	8	7	29	19
Fed/State Elective	5	(1)	3	(0)	3	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Fed/State Appointive	(0)	4	6	(0)	(0)	(0)	5	(1)	10	6
Local Elective	5	(0)	5	7	10	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Same Job	25	22	25	24	27	(0)	8	(2)	7	(0)
Same Job/Diff.City	(0)	8	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(2)	(0)	(0)
Same Job/Lgr.City	10	20	5	17	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	7	6
Private Sector	10	8	11	7	7	(2)	7	11	7	13
Advisory/Consult.	(0)	(0)	(0)	3	(0)	(0)	3	(2)	(0)	13
Don't Know	10	8	11	7	17	(2)	13	(2)	10	(0)
None/Retiring	15	8	9	7	27	(1)	4	4	(0)	(6)
Total	(20)	(50)	(64)	(29)	(30)	(9)	(112)	(85)	(41)	(16)

TABLE 4H: FREQUENCY OF INTERSTATE MOVES WITHIN PAST 3 JOBS

# of Interstate Moves Within Past 3 Jobs	Municipal Managers	
	F %	M %
None	72	57
1	17	26
2	10	14
3	(1)	4
Total	(106)	(51)

TABLE 41: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' LENGTH OF TIME IN COMMUNITY

Length of Time in Community (yrs)	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg.		Assistant		Department Head	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
4 & Under	17	41	12	19	5	(4)	37	50	33	35
5 - 9	13	16	7	11	3	(3)	20	25	25	24
10 - 14	3	12	7	8	3	(0)	8	4	6	12
15 - 19	13	5	9	11	10	(0)	10	4	6	12
20 - 24	10	3	14	5	8	(0)	9	4	6	6
25 & Over	43	22	51	46	70	(3)	17	12	24	12
Total	(30)	(58)	(95)	(37)	(60)	(10)	(132)	(92)	(51)	(17)

TABLE 4K: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' LENGTH OF TIME IN STATE

Length of Time in State (yrs)	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg.		Assistant		Department Head	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
4 & Under	(0)	18	5	3	(1)	(1)	15	12	(1)	19
5 - 9	11	13	2	3	(1)	(2)	9	11	12	13
10 - 14	(0)	9	6	3	4	(0)	12	10	6	(0)
15 - 19	14	(1)	5	6	(1)	(0)	8	7	10	(0)
20 - 24	(0)	5	5	3	(1)	(2)	14	5	6	6
25 & Over	75	53	76	83	89	(5)	43	55	64	63
Total	(28)	(55)	(94)	(36)	(56)	(10)	(128)	(91)	(50)	(16)

TABLE 4M(a): MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' WILLINGNESS TO RELOCATE

Would you relocate if a more rewarding job opportunity arose?	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg.	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Definitely	20	26	18	32	4	(1)
Probably	20	36	21	32	18	(7)
Probably Not	37	19	22	19	33	(2)
Definitely Not	17	12	19	8	28	(0)
Don't Know	7	7	19	8	18	(0)
Total	(30)	(58)	(94)	(37)	(57)	(10)

TABLE 4M(b): MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' WILLINGNESS TO RELOCATE

Would you relocate if a more rewarding job opportunity arose?	Assistant		Department Head	
	F %	M %	F %	M %
Definitely	28	46	26	47
Probably	22	34	24	29
Probably Not	26	10	22	12
Definitely Not	7	6	10	6
Don't Know	17	3	18	6
Total	(132)	(93)	(50)	(17)

TABLE 4N: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' WILLINGNESS TO RELOCATE BY MARITAL STATUS

Would you relocate if a more rewarding job opportunity arose?	Marital Status							
	Married		Divorced/Separated		Widowed		Single	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Definitely	11	33	37	(5)	24	(0)	41	65
Probably	16	39	33	(2)	24	(0)	24	15
Probably Not	35	14	10	(1)	28	(0)	12	15
Definitely Not	18	9	8	(0)	16	(0)	7	5
Don't Know	20	6	12	(0)	8	(0)	16	(0)
Total	(219)	(186)	(60)	(8)	(25)	(0)	(58)	(20)

TABLE 4O: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' WILLINGNESS TO RELOCATE BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Would you relocate if a more rewarding job opportunity arose?	Number of Children									
	None		1		2 - 3		4 - 5		6 & Over	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Definitely	29	47	23	60	13	24	15	15	(2)	(2)
Probably	22	30	15	31	18	41	33	44	(4)	(1)
Probably Not	23	15	34	5	27	16	30	22	(0)	(1)
Definitely Not	10	4	16	5	19	9	13	15	(0)	(1)
Don't Know	17	4	11	(0)	23	9	10	4	(1)	(0)
Total	(115)	(47)	(61)	(42)	(128)	(87)	(40)	(27)	(7)	(5)

PART V: ON THE JOB SUPERVISORY RESPONSIBILITIES

TABLE 5A: TIME SPENT ON JOB & REQUIRED JOB RELATED ACTIVITIES BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Time spent on job related activities (hrs/wk)	Municipal Managers F %	Municipal Managers M %
34 & Under	4	(4)
35 - 39	4	(1)
40 - 49	54	32
50 - 59	27	51
60 & Over	10	14
Total	(362)	(215)

TABLE 5B: NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS ON COMMITTEES, BOARDS & COMMISSIONS BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Number of memberships on committees, boards, & commissions as part of job responsibilities	Municipal Managers F %	Municipal Managers M %
1	48	47
2	28	30
3	13	14
4	5	7
5 & Over	5	(2)
Total	(151)	(91)

TABLE 5C: COMMITTEES, BOARDS, & COMMISSIONS SERVED ON BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS*

Which committees, boards, or commissions do you or have you served on?	Municipal Managers F %	Municipal Managers M %
Local Government Study/Advisory	36	23
Finance/Capital Growth/Insurance	33	34
Planning/Zoning Housing	31	55
Personnel/Civil Service	27	21
Human Services	19	14
Recreation/Civic	16	11
Public Works/Transportation	10	13
Affirmative Action/Status of Women	7	3
Total	(135)	(91)

*Up to 3 answers were counted from each respondent. Percentages are calculated by dividing the number of times each type of committee, board, or commission was cited by the total number of municipal managers who answered this question.

TABLE 5D: RANK ORDER OF COMMITTEES, BOARDS, & COMMISSIONS SERVED ON BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Rank	CAO/CM F	CAO/CM M	Finance Officer F	Finance Officer M
1st	Gov't. Study	Planning	Finance	Finance
2nd	Planning	Personnel	Personnel	Planning
3rd	Finance	Recreation/Civic	Gov't. Study	Personnel

Rank	Clk/Trs/Reg. F	Clk/Trs/Reg. M
1st	Planning	Personnel
2nd	Personnel	Gov't. Study
3rd	Gov't. Study	Public Works

TABLE 5D: RANK ORDER OF COMMITTEES, BOARDS, & COMMISSIONS SERVED ON BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS (Cont'd.)

Rank	Assistant		Department Head	
	F	M	F	M
1st	Planning	Planning	Gov't. Study	Human Svcs.
2nd	Gov't. Study	Gov't. Study	Recreation/Civic	Gov't. Study
3rd	Human Svcs.	Finance	Planning	Planning

TABLE 5E: STAFF SUPERVISION OF MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Do you supervise a staff?	F %	M %
Yes	80	88
No	20	13
Total	(366)	(216)

TABLE 5F: NUMBER OF PEOPLE SUPERVISED BY FEMALE & MALE MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Number of People Supervised	F %	M %
4 & Under	48	28
5 - 9	26	27
10 - 29	19	22
30 - 49	(4)	4
50 - 99	(6)	7
100 & Over	3	11
Total	(291)	(188)

TABLE 5G: PERCENT OF DEPARTMENT HEADS WHO ARE FEMALE BY JOB CATEGORY

Department Heads Who Are Female (%)	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg.		Assistant		Department Head	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Zero	(7)	41	11	47	19	(9)	39	38	27	(8)
1 - 24	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
25 - 49	(0)	4	13	3	6	(0)	15	20	22	(3)
50 - 74	(2)	21	33	38	19	(2)	27	27	32	(5)
75 - 99	(1)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)	3	(1)	5	(0)
100	(14)	32	41	12	55	(0)	16	13	14	(1)
Total	(24)	(56)	(75)	(34)	(53)	(11)	(130)	(84)	(37)	(17)

TABLE 5H: PERCENT OF DEPARTMENT HEADS WHO ARE FEMALE BY FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Department Heads Who Are Female (%)	Form of Government									
	Mayor/Council		Council/Mgr.		Commission		Rep./Twn.Mtg.		Co.Council/Adm.	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Zero	20	56	29	39	(0)	(0)	(4)	(2)	(2)	(0)
1 - 24	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
25 - 49	10	(1)	15	15	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(1)
50 - 74	21	21	30	30	(0)	(0)	(4)	(1)	(1)	(0)
75 - 99	(2)	(0)	3	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)
100	47	21	23	15	(1)	(0)	(5)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Total	(105)	(57)	(193)	(138)	(3)	(0)	(13)	(6)	(3)	(1)

TABLE 5I: TELEPHONE INTERVIEWEES' SURPRISES ON THE JOB*

Surprises on the Job	Telephone Interviewees F %	M %
Rapid pace/too many hours	45	54
Direct line of responsibility	45	46
Bureaucratic red tape	27	8
Not enough power/responsibility	18	23
Sexual harassment	9	(0)
Hostile administration	9	(0)
Isolated from decision-makers	(0)	8
Total	(11)	(13)

*Up to 3 surprises were counted from each interviewee. Percentages are calculated by dividing the number of times each surprise was cited by the total number of interviewees who answered this question.

TABLE 5J: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' RECOMMENDATIONS TO GOVERNING BODY BY POPULATION

Do you make recommendations to your governing body?	Population (to the nearest thousand) 9 & Under F %	M %	10 - 39 F %	M %	40 - 99 F %	M %	100 & Over F %	M %
Yes	88	96	77	93	76	85	79	71
No	12	4	23	7	24	15	21	29
Total	(76)	(53)	(183)	(109)	(49)	(34)	(57)	(21)
Are your recommendations followed?								
Nearly always	32	55	31	37	53	35	50	33
Most of the time	51	39	51	54	39	59	39	53
Half the time	10	2	9	8	3	7	7	(0)
Less than half the time	8	4	10	2	6	(0)	5	(13)
Total	(63)	(49)	(136)	(101)	(36)	(29)	(44)	(15)

TABLE 5K: RESOLUTION TO POLICY/ACTION DISAGREEMENTS BY POPULATION

Does your governing body eventually agree with you?	Population (to the nearest thousand)							
	9 & Under		10 - 39		40 - 99		100 & Over	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Nearly always	14	7	15	10	13	18	15	(1)
Most of the time	51	42	39	39	40	43	52	(7)
Half the time	27	40	29	32	40	21	21	(1)
Less than half the time	8	11	17	19	7	18	12	(5)
Total	(51)	(45)	(102)	(88)	(30)	(28)	(33)	(14)

TABLE 5L: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' RECOMMENDATIONS TO GOVERNING BODY BY GEOGRAPHIC REGION

Do you make recommendations to your governing body?	Geographic Region							
	Eastern		Central		Southern		Mountain/Pacific	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Yes	82	95	79	92	71	79	87	95
No	18	5	21	8	29	21	13	5
Total	(73)	(43)	(86)	(64)	(109)	(52)	(97)	(58)
Are your recommendations followed?								
Nearly always	26	41	28	37	40	40	49	44
Most of the time	56	54	51	54	47	45	39	48
Half the time	11	(1)	12	5	4	10	6	6
Less than half the time	7	(1)	9	3	9	5	6	(1)
Total	(57)	(41)	(65)	(59)	(75)	(40)	(82)	(54)

TABLE 5M: RESOLUTION TO POLICY/ACTION DISAGREEMENTS BY GEOGRAPHIC REGION

Does your governing body eventually agree with you?	Geographic Region							
	Eastern		Central		Southern		Mountain/Pacific	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Nearly always	11	14	16	9	11	9	18	10
Most of the time	56	43	43	39	44	37	37	45
Half the time	27	30	22	30	32	31	34	31
Less than half the time	7	14	18	22	14	23	11	14
Total	(45)	(37)	(49)	(54)	(57)	(35)	(65)	(49)

TABLE 5N: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' RECOMMENDATIONS TO GOVERNING BODIES BY FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Do you make recommendations to your governing body?	Form of Government*											
	M/C		C/M		Comm.		R/TM		CC/A		Co. Comm.	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Yes	83	100	76	87	(3)	(0)	(14)	(6)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(2)
No	17	(0)	24	14	(1)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Total	(125)	(60)	(215)	(148)	(4)	(0)	(16)	(6)	(3)	(1)	(0)	(2)
Are your recommendations followed?												
Nearly always	30	42	43	39	(1)	(0)	(2)	(4)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)
Most of the time	51	49	44	53	(2)	(0)	(9)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)
Half of the time	11	5	6	6	(0)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Less than half the time	8	3	7	3	(0)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Total	(99)	(59)	(159)	(127)	(3)	(0)	(14)	(6)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(2)

*M/C - Mayor/Council
C/M - Council/Manager
Comm. - Commission
R/TM - Rep./Twn. Mtg.
CC/A - County Council/Adm.
Co. Comm. - County Commission

TABLE 50: RESOLUTION TO POLICY/ACTION DISAGREEMENTS BY FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Does your governing body eventually agree with you?	Form of Government*											
	M/C		C/M		Comm.		R/TM		CC/A		Co. Comm.	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Nearly always	11	8	15	9	(1)	(0)	(2)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)
Most of the time	51	55	38	37	(1)	(0)	(5)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)
Half the time	24	25	35	31	(0)	(0)	(1)	(4)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Less than half the time	13	12	12	22	(0)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Total	(82)	(49)	(119)	(118)	(2)	(0)	(10)	(6)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(2)

*M/C - Mayor/Council
C/M - Council/Manager
Comm. - Commission
R/TM - Rep./Twn. Mtg.
CC/A - County Council/Adm.
Co. Comm. - County Commission

PART VI: RELATIONSHIP TO ELECTED OFFICIALS

TABLE 6A: IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS BY RATED MUNICIPAL MANAGERS

Importance of Political Parties	Administrative Areas					
	Personnel Decisions		Career Advancement		Policymaking	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Very Important	4	3	4	3	8	11
Moderately Important	5	(4)	5	(4)	10	6
Somewhat Important	8	7	10	6	13	13
Not Important	83	88	82	89	69	71
Total	(355)	(214)	(355)	(214)	(354)	(215)

TABLE 6B: RESPONSIBILITY FOR KEY GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTIONS BY JOB CATEGORY

Who has personnel responsibility?	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg.		Assistant		Department Head	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Municipal Manager(s)	70	86	70	64	47	(10)	90	96	65	(14)
Elected Official(s)	27	7	23	36	47	(1)	8	4	27	(2)
Manager(s) & Elected	3	7	7	(0)	5	(0)	(2)	(0)	4	(1)
Special Bd/ Twn. Mtg.	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)	4	(0)
Total	(30)	(59)	(92)	(37)	(60)	(11)	(135)	(93)	(49)	(17)
Who has budget responsibility?										
Municipal Manager(s)	73	92	60	58	57	(11)	80	91	65	(13)
Elected Official(s)	10	5	23	28	30	(0)	13	5	24	(2)
Manager(s) & Elected	10	3	13	6	12	(0)	6	3	10	(1)
Special Bd/ Twn. Mtg.	7	(0)	3	8	(1)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(1)
Total	(30)	(59)	(90)	(36)	(60)	(11)	(133)	(92)	(49)	(17)

TABLE 6B: RESPONSIBILITY FOR KEY GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTIONS BY JOB CATEGORY (Cont'd.)

Who has planning responsibility?	CAO/CM		Finance Officer		Clk/Trs/Reg.		Assistant		Department Head	
	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %	F %	M %
Municipal Manager(s)	45	81	50	56	43	(10)	83	85	63	(14)
Elected Official(s)	28	5	33	28	43	(0)	11	7	27	(1)
Manager(s) & Elected	17	3	5	(0)	7	(0)	5	4	(1)	(0)
Special Bd/ Twn. Mtg.	10	10	13	17	7	(0)	(1)	4	8	(2)
Total	(29)	(59)	(88)	(36)	(58)	(10)	(129)	(92)	(48)	(17)
Who has general administrative responsibility?										
Municipal Manager(s)	93	100	59	67	56	(10)	94	98	71	(15)
Elected Official(s)	7	(0)	32	31	37	(1)	5	(2)	22	(2)
Manager(s) & Elected	(0)	(0)	7	3	5	(0)	(2)	(0)	6	(0)
Special Bd/ Twn. Mtg.	(0)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
Total	(29)	(59)	(88)	(36)	(59)	(11)	(132)	(81)	(49)	(17)

TABLE 6C: MEANS USED BY ELECTED WOMEN TO APPOINT WOMEN TO BOARDS/COMMISSIONS*

Means Used to Appoint Women	Elected Women %
Talked to an elected colleague	67
Wrote a letter of recommendation	31
Spoke to a public official	57
Recruited women candidates	9
Nominated women	4
Appointed/voted for women	10
Total	(377)

*Up to 3 answers were counted from each respondent. Percentages are calculated by dividing the number of times each activity was checked by the number of elected women who responded to this question.

TABLE 6D: ELECTED WOMEN'S PERCEPTION OF BARRIERS TO WOMEN IN MUNICIPAL MANAGEMENT*

What do you think the barriers are to placing more women in municipal management?	Elected Women %
Anti-female attitudes	58
Lack of qualified women	38
Women reluctant/lack of confidence	13
Not enough women candidates	11
Public service job too time-consuming for women	6
Exclusion from "Old Boy's Network"	4
Intense job competition	(1)
Total	(53)

*Up to 3 answers were counted from each respondent. Percentages are calculated by dividing the number of times each barrier was cited by the number of elected women who responded to this question.

TABLE 6E: ELECTED WOMEN'S RESPONSE TO HOW "NEW GIRL'S NETWORK" EXISTS*

How does the "New Girl's Network" exist?	Elected Women %
Women share information/advice	32
Women meet regularly	7
Women meet informally	28
Through professional organizations	43
Through the League of Women Voters	10
Among women community activists	6
Through women's groups and organizations	6
Through single issue networks	(2)
In job recruitment	5
Through political parties	(1)
Total	(113)

*Up to 3 answers were counted from each respondent. Percentages are calculated by dividing the number of times each answer was cited by the number of women who responded to this question.

PART VII: BARRIERS AND SUPPORT SYSTEMS

TABLE 7A: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' MEMBERSHIP DISTRIBUTION IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS*

What kinds of professional organizations do you belong to?	Municipal Managers F %	Municipal Managers M %
International/National	105	122
Regional	11	2
State	75	83
State Regional	3	12
County/Local	11	3
Professional Women's Group	14	(0)
Scholarly	(2)	(0)
Labor Union	(2)	(0)
Total	(275)	(177)

*Up to 3 organizations were counted from each respondent. Percentages are calculated by dividing the number of times each kind of organization was cited by the number of managers who answered this question.

TABLE 7B: MUNICIPAL MANAGERS' MEMBERSHIP DISTRIBUTION IN INTERNATIONAL/NATIONAL PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS*

Which international/national organizations do you belong to?	Municipal Managers F %	Municipal Managers M %
International City Management Association	26	55
American Society of Public Administration	12	14
Municipal Finance Officers' Association	21	18
American Society for Planning Officials	(4)	(3)
International Institute of Municipal Clerks	11	5
National Secretaries' Association	(5)	(0)
National Management Association	(2)	(3)
American Institute of Planners	(5)	3
Other	29	24
Total	(275)	(177)

*Up to 3 organizations were counted from each respondent. Percentages are calculated by dividing the number of times each kind of organization was cited by the number of managers who answered this question.

TABLE 7C: HIGHEST OFFICES HELD BY MUNICIPAL MANAGERS IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Highest office held in professional organization	Municipal Managers	
	F	M
	%	%
President	32	47
Vice-President	10	14
Secretary	22	15
Treasurer	4	(0)
Committee Chair	20	14
District/Region Office	12	10
Total	(106)	(59)